Margt Thomas

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Selections.

THE PROCLAMATION OF FREEDOM.

When a great end, which has been arduously struggled for through months—perhaps years—of doubt and depression, is at length attained, the first impulse is one of profound exultation, of intense satisfaction; the next is too apt to be one of criticism and cavil. "Where is the blessedness ye spake of?" Why might we not have had *all* we asked for as well as this? Why stop short, after going so far? Is this adequate to the exigency? Does it fully requite all the effort and sacrifice it has cost? And thus the reaction following a great triumph is apt to induce discontent if not apathy.

Mrs. Hemans's "Traveller at the Source of the Nile" will be remembered by thousands as querying, after the first sensation of triumph had passed, "*And is this all?*"

The President's proclamation of freedom is not what I desired and sought. I did hope that the President would feel constrained to declare slavery abolished at once and in every part of the country. I hoped that Maryland, Delaware, and Missouri, would have been made free States forthwith (compensation of course to be made to the few thoroughly loyal slaveholders in each), and that every slave now under the jurisdiction of the Union should likewise be freed at once, and the residue so fast as they should come or be brought within that jurisdiction. I firmly believed—I still believe—the exigency such as fully and clearly to warrant and demand such an exercise of supreme military authority for the saving of the life of the republic.

But the President has determined on a more cautious, limited, temporizing procedure. His proclamation frees absolutely only such slaves as Acts of Congress, punishing the crimes of rebels, had already legally emancipated. Nearly three months must yet elapse—a full hundred days from the date of the proclamation—before the proffer of freedom to all slaves of rebels, and of persons passively remaining and residing within States and districts hitherto under rebel jurisdiction, will take effect.

Hence some say, "The proclamation is a soap-bubble—a mirage—a delusion. It does not abolish slavery—it may never free a single slave. The rebels may succumb and return to loyalty; or they may be beaten and their States restored by force to the Union; or they may triumph and achieve their independence through foreign aid or otherwise, so that slavery may emerge from this contest strong and defiant as ever. What will avail, then, the proclamation of freedom?"

Now, it is true that the rebels *may* save slavery by promptly and thoroughly repudiating their treason: in so far, the demurrer is well grounded. Were they to lay down their arms to-morrow, and announce their unqualified submission to the Constitution and adhesion to the Union, slavery would doubtless survive the rebellion. But, while this is physically possible, it is morally otherwise. The dupes of the rebellion—the ignorant millions of Southern whites—know nothing of the recent reverses of their arms. Their ears are constantly crammed, their vanity inflamed, by tidings of Confederate victories. All over the further South, it is currently reported, and by the "poor whites" believed, that Stonewall Jackson has taken Washington City, missing the capture of the President and Cabinet by barely two hours, and that Gen. Lee's victorious army is on its conquering way to the great Northern cities! Even in Richmond, the battles which resulted in the expulsion of the Confederates from Maryland are habitually treated by the press as rebel triumphs! How, then, is it possible that the Confederates should give up their rebellion and submit absolutely to the supremacy of the Federal Constitution and laws?

A subjugation of the rebel hosts, a virtual conquest of the rebel States, before January, is by no means impossible, *but that would not save slavery.* For, by the terms of the Confiscation Act, expressly recognized and their enforcement enjoined upon our military and naval officers by the proclamation, slavery in rebel States disappears before the advance of our arms, giving place at all points to impartial freedom. Every rebel State overrun by our armies becomes inevitably a free State.

That the rebels may triumph, and dictate a disunion peace to our government, is of course possible. This contingency could by no means have been excluded. If we are beaten in the struggle, no act of Congress, no military order, no Executive decree, can or could suffice to vanquish slavery. Being our conqueror, it will prescribe terms, not accept them. The most sweeping edict of emancipation can avail nothing in the absence of power to enforce it.

But this is what the proclamation of freedom will and must do for the Union cause, and it justifies all, and more than all, the gratitude and gladness wherewith that act has been hailed by the loyal millions.

I. It places our government distinctly, unequivocally, on the side of freedom as against slavery. It recognizes slavery as the inciting cause of our national calamities and perils. It looks to impartial freedom as their unfailing, effectual cure. Whatever gloss may be placed on the facts by blind, besotted partisanship, the proclamation is an official recognition that the enslavement of some has imperilled the liberty and happiness of all.

II. For more than forty years past, it has been generally held and taught in this country, that hostility to slavery was nearly akin to disloyalty to the Union. The tables are now turned. In recognizing slavery as our nation's chief danger, the government renders an indirect but emphatic tribute to the loyalty and beneficence of the anti-slavery sentiment. Slavery's red-handed treason is liberty's vindication from unjust reproach and undeserved odium. When the President of the United States becomes an avowed and practical emancipator, it cannot much longer be a reproach in any loyal State to be accounted an Abolitionist.

III. This act entitles the Union government and cause to the generous loyalty of the African race and of the friends of emancipation everywhere. It is easy to cavil at this or that inconsistency—to complain that blacks are not recognized as the equals of whites—that they are excluded by law from certain free States and inhumanly thrust from omnibuses and street-cars in most Northern cities—that they are not generally allowed to fight for the Union against the slaveholder's rebellion, etc., etc. True as all this is, its statement gives a false impression. For the indignities and inhumanities to which the blacks are exposed in many if not most free States are relics of the brutal past, not indications of the humaner future. They are among the *debris* of the slaveholding regime, now tumbling into ruin. Years may be required to remove them utterly, but the overthrow of slavery seals the doom of them all.

IV. The President has rescued us from the real and so recently imminent peril of foreign intervention. If he had delayed a little longer, the French Emperor would almost certainly have interposed to our prejudice. The proffers of the rebel chiefs were too tempting to be obstinately resisted by such an adventurer. His need of markets and of cotton with the prospect of having the Confederate concern for a satrapy of his empire, a shield for his anticipated Mexican conquests, would have overborne all prudential considerations. Now, if he shall not have involved himself inextricably in this business before he receives the proclamation of freedom, be surely will not afterward. Intervention is a by-gone danger, a spiked cannon, from the hour that this proclamation is flashed across the continent of Europe. Able rulers may lack conscience, but they do not ignore the consciences of others. And no European potentate will enter upon a bloody crusade in behalf of a cause palpably identified with the preservation of slavery.

—Finally, us let all gratefully realize that the President deserves our thanks for a great, wise, and happy act, whereby half the perils of our position have at once been swept away. We have still dangers to confront, disasters to bear up against, enemies to battle, sacrifices to make, and giant obstacles to overcome. We may have six months of the struggle yet before us; but the stormy cape is past, the clouds disperse, and bright hopes irradiate our future. We have yet to encounter disordered finances, incompetent officers, dignitaries whose hearts are not in the national cause, and the thousand impediments whereby heroism is developed and tested; but, trusting in a God who hates oppression, let us unite in thanks to Heaven for such a President as Abraham Lincoln, and go forward unshrinkingly on the path of trial and of duty!—*Horace Greeley, in The Independent.*

CONSERVATIVE AND RADICAL.

A man may worship a false god, and not be an idolater. An idol-worshipper is one who has lost or failed to have any sense of the supposed divinity within an image, and who worships the form or idol, as if the material thing were a very god.

We have multitudes of political idolaters. They worship forms and institutions without perceiving the original and vital principle which such institutions were ordained to serve. They worship civil institutions and the political processes, devised expressly to maintain men's rights, to secure justice, and to guard the liberty of the citizen, while they are actively at war with those fundamental ideas of justice and liberty on which these civil and political structures were built.

The body is valuable only as it serves the mind and soul, and an ordinance or law is valuable only as it serves some truth or principle. They that see and serve the principle are the true conservatives. They that see only the outside form are mere idolaters. They are materialistic conservatives. They worship the outside of things; not the truth, but the body which it wears. Nor is it uncommon for such men to forswear and betray the very truths for which laws and customs were ordained, in their blind devotion to the material body of law or institution; as if a mother, defending her child, should frantically press it to her bosom until it was suffocated.

Great principles need to be set in institutions, in laws, in civil customs. For otherwise, they are but disembodied spirits, having no hands by which they can labor in this material world. They are like latent heat and light, that serve no economy of life. But, when law no longer serves a principle of justice or of right, it is but a candlestick whose light has been removed.

In our time, we see one party of the candlestick. They worship it, though it is without flame or candle. There is a second party of the unlighted candle. They believe in the abstract principle, but do not light it for fear it may burn out; nor have they any socket in which to rest it. There is a third party of sensible men. Their idea is that a candle should be lighted, placed on a candlestick, that it may give light to all that are in the house.

These are the men who hold to the Constitution because it holds to the great principles of liberty and justice. They maintain the integrity of the National Union for the sake of those essential and eternal principles of equity, whose observance has always brought prosperity, and whose violation has always been, and will forever be, punished with disasters. They accept Constitution and Union, not as idols, not as superstitious amulets, political charms, but for the very reasons given by the fathers for forming them: "To establish JUSTICE, insure DOMESTIC TRANQUILLITY, provide for the COMMON DEFENCE, promote the GENERAL WELFARE, and SECURE THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY to ourselves and our posterity." The Constitution is a many-branched golden candlestick, and upon its arms burn the flames of justice, liberty, law—for common weal, defense and tranquillity. It is for these transcendent moral qualities that we revere it. Its lights have been blown out. We are relighting them. Audacious hands have thrown some of these sacred candles away. We replace them. We declare that the Constitution is sacred while it carries the light of liberty, justice, and common weal. But when robbed of these, we shall not go down on our knees with grovelling idolaters and materialistic conservatives, to offer prayers to the dark and dishonored standard on which once the lights so gloriously burned!

But this describes precisely the relative positions of those who are called conservatives and radicals. The self-styled conservatives are the men who for twenty five years have favored every advance of despotic principles. In that long course of insidious revolution that has been going on by legislation and by juridical construction, by which our old instruments of liberty were becoming implements of Southern barbaric despotism, they have invariably sided with the innovators upon liberty and justice. They have stood by and held the clothes while traitors stoned to death the martyrs of liberty.

The sacredness of the mails was violated, and they approved. The right of petition was denied, and they approved. The invasion of Mexico was planned by slavery, and they sympathized with it. The wanton insult to the spirit of the North in the Compromises of 1850 had their hearty favor. They winked at the violation of the Missouri Compromise. They took part and gave moral endorsement to that series of political abominations which were practiced upon Kansas. When the elections of 1860 had indicated the popular will, they boldly favored the South, though openly avowing secession and consummating treason. And when Sumter was bombarded, only fear of the instant violence of the incensed common people induced a decent silence and prudential reserve.

These are the men who are now assuming airs of singular virtue as conservatives. They have spent the half of their life in sucking the blood from the Constitution, and now, if it could only be stuffed like a dead eagle, they would spend the other half in saying their stupid prayers to it!

These are the men who are pleased to stigmatize as radicals those who have unfalteringly maintained the Constitution and the laws for the original purposes of justice and liberty for which they were expressly ordained, and who now jealously watch them and trim their wick, pouring in sacred oil, that they may never cease to cast out a clear and benignant light to all the dwellers of the earth!

The men who have corrupted justice are conservatives; the men who have maintained its purity—are radicals! The men who, when it was safe, openly assailed liberty, and when it was perilous, did it by stealth—are the conservatives of American institutions! But the men who worshipped liberty as God's vicegerent among men, and took stripes and shame for its sake—are radicals!

It is a shame that so sacred a name as *conservative* should be made a mask to cover a face of hypocrisy and treason. They who hold to principles with or without form, in institutions, or out of them, or against them; they who believe that the life of nations, of laws, of the world, lies in certain great truths, and who maintain those fundamental truths, with bold confession, through good and through evil report—they are the true conservatives. They conserve the life of lives. Christ ordained them. "*Ye are the salt of the earth.*" By the salt of principles that made war against lies, injustice, impurity and tyranny, they conserved and preserved the world. But let names go. A good cause, a good conscience and an invincible zeal will make any man honorable. No man is now ashamed to be called a Nazarene.

The most odious implement of punishment has been snatched from the hands of cruelty, and now shines high over all symbols, the very sign of hope and glory!

The whole framework of our government is but the means by which our fathers sought to preserve the natural rights of men. That government is now disowned and assailed by those who scoff at these natural rights of men, and reject them. If this government is to be saved, it will be by those who believe in the radical principles of human rights and civil liberty, against those who disbelieve the one and hold the other only for purposes of oppression! If we are overthrown in this struggle, it will be because we prove ourselves unworthy to be the depository of the great civil legacy of the gospel—the liberties of mankind!

But we shall not prove unworthy. We hold the Constitution sacred for the very ends ordained by it. We shall maintain this government for these very objects for which it was established. And we will oppose and destroy anybody and anything which attempts to withhold from the Constitution and the government the power of securing justice, liberty and the common welfare!

We leave to those so-called conservatives, who have sucked in their doctrines at the breast of slavery, the task of distributing venomous lies and of stirring up the ignorant with revolutionary passions. We need no such desperate measures. The early doctrines of the fathers are with us. The Constitution and the laws are with us. On our side is the whole Revolutionary history, those historic ideas which liberty has consecrated, the moral sentiments of intelligent good men, the generous instincts of even the honest ignorant.

And now that the President of the United States, in the exercise of his power as Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, has, after long deliberation and the utmost forbearance, solemnly declared that the Union and the existence of the government can only be secured by the destruction of slavery, all men will be compelled by the stern pressure of events to take sides.

Whatever questions have divided men hitherto, now, the issue that has arisen and stands supreme above any other, and which will divide and classify men on one or the other of the two only sides, is this: The Union and Constitution for Liberty! or else, Revolution or Compromise for the sake of slavery!—*Henry Ward Beecher, in The Independent.*

A LOYAL SLAVEHOLDER'S VIEWS OF THE REBELLION.

SPEECH OF HON. ANDREW JACKSON HAMILTON, OF TEXAS.

[The Hon. Andrew Jackson Hamilton, of Texas, was one of the Representatives from that State in the last Congress. His colleague was Mr. John H. Reagan, now Postmaster-General in the Confederate States. After the secession of the cotton States, Mr. Hamilton made an hour's speech in the House, declaring his unalterable determination to stand by the Union of the States under any and all circumstances. In spite of the reign of terror which has prevailed in Texas, as over all Secessia, he maintained his loyalty to the republic. Recently he found an opportunity, and availed himself of it, to get to New Orleans; and from there he came to this city. An invitation was extended to him to deliver an address on the rebellion in the Brooklyn Academy of Music, which he accepted. The immense assemblage which met to hear him was an evidence of the interest felt in him and in the subject. We give some passages from this address.]

I cannot better develop to you my own views of the causes that led to this, than by calling your attention to what one of the leading spirits engaged in this great rebellion against the authority of the government said—a Mr. Spratt, of South Carolina—who addressed a communication at great length and with consummate ability, with all the argument which the school of philosophers to which he belongs could bring to bear on the question of the propriety of essentially changing the principles on which the government of the Southern States was thereafter to be based, as contrasted with the government of the United States. He said he was very much ashamed of any Southern statesman—indeed, there was no man who deserved that name—who would pretend that the secession or revolution was caused by any aggression on the part of the people of the non-slaveholding States on the rights and interests of the people of the South in regard to slave property. He said it was childlike to talk about its being the cause. He said it was still less because of any act of aggression on the part of the United States government. What, then, was the reason? He said it was because of the difference in the organization of society North and South. In the non-slaveholding States every man being a freeman, it resulted that the laboring classes had power in government, and it required but little argument, he said, to prove that, when that was the case, the government was "in the heels" of society. He said that when, on the other hand, government was in the hands of those who directed labor, it was then "in the head" of society, where it properly belonged. And now, said he, after having cut loose from the North, after eradicating the evil, have we succeeded in achieving the object? Not at all. He was complaining in this letter that the Montgomery Convention had failed to meet the object desired by those who inaugurated the revolution, because it had not provided affirmatively for reopening the African slave trade. He said it would involve the necessity of another revolution; that the evil was still in their midst, as the laboring man would still wield the power in the new government; and, said he, "From the premises I have laid down, you will perceive that slavery and democracy are incompatible" (applause). He paid a high compliment to the great New York statesman, now the Secretary of State (Mr. Seward), and said that he never uttered a greater truth than when he declared there was "an irrepressible conflict" between slave labor and free labor (applause). He said that in this additional, this second revolution that would be forced upon them, and which might be bloodier than the present one, they would get rid of the last and least remains of democracy, and that his plan emphatically was a slave aristocracy. Now, if that was but the sentiment of one Southern man, addressed to a trusted agent of the State of Louisiana, then a sitting member in the Convention, there might be but little practical significance in it. If it had been reprobated by the public press in that section, or condemned by the public voice, there might be little significance in the fact that such sentiments were promulgated to the world. But when you bear in mind that that letter was reproduced in the leading prints of the South, and spoken of in terms of commendation, and that up to this hour no man has lifted his voice in criticism against any of the positions there assumed, then it is significant. I have heard the echoes of those sentiments in the streets, in the hotels, in the parlors and at the festive board. Men who, two years ago, were regarded as loyal, are heard now saying, "Well, republicanism is a failure. We are really astonished at ourselves for ever thinking that it could succeed. We now realize the fact that we must have a stronger government." If you knew all this as I do, you would feel that there was something more involved in this revolution than the simple desire to get rid of the hated Yankee. It was not because the men who inaugurated it hated the people of the North, it was not because many of you differed with them in opinion, but it was a deliberate purpose on their part to be the controlling spirits in a new and different order of government, where their power would be perpetual, and where they would not be subject to the chances of the free choice of a free people, in recurring elections, as had been the case; and he that does not realize that fact to-day does not yet understand what this revolution means, and in consequence, the man who flatters himself that by conciliatory measures, by kind words, gentle dealings and peace-offerings you can cause the rebellious and disloyal States to resume their original position in the confederation of the United States, is most woefully mistaken and deceived (loud applause). It never can nor will happen in this way. There is but one remedy, and that is to be found only in the physical power of the loyal people supporting the government (loud applause).

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The cause, then, of this revolution may thus be seen. Mr. Spratt clearly declared that it did not result from the fact that the people of the North were coercive—not because the government of the United States was oppressive or coercive, either—not because the South and its rights and institutions were not sufficiently protected by the Constitution and the laws, but because the operation and development of a free state of society, it left to grapple with Southern society, would naturally destroy it by the mere effect of moral force. Whether that is the precise view which is taken of the matter by those who have engaged in the rebellion of the Southern States or whether it is not, there is no doubt that these opinions have been sufficiently countenanced, as may be seen in one fact, that upon the organization of the new government the influence of non-slaveholders was to be felt less and less until they would at last be reduced to the position of serfs. The slaveholders were, in fact, to become the sole arbiters of the destinies of the people. Now, while I would not have lent my aid two years ago to any man who would seek to abolish slavery in the South—while I would have considered such a man as at least an impracticable friend of the government—still, whether it resulted from moral cowardice or any other cause, I cannot say, I dreaded the moral effect of those persons who would bring into opposition or collision the spirit of freedom with that of slavery. I feared the result of such a parallel.

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But there is one thing on which you may rely, and although it is not known to all of you, it will be by and by, that the great body of the people of the South were loyal to this government, and always did desire to preserve the Union (loud applause). The question will be, why, then, did they suffer themselves to be driven and forced out of the Union they desired to preserve. It is, as I said, far more difficult to make one who did not witness a fact understand it as readily as one who was present and saw it. But I may say that every artifice and deception were brought into play for the purpose. The people for a long series of years had been educated to this end, and their minds had been poisoned with the idea of the excellence of the slave system, that it at length became fashionable at the South that any man who did not regard slavery as the greatest and most sublime institution in the world—who did not outHerod Herod in his firm conviction that the policy of African slavery was not only of Divine origin, but that it was one of the greatest evidences of the wisdom and perfection of that Great Being who created all good (loud laughter)—was unfit for any of the public positions in the gift of his fellow-citizens. Thus if one man was running against another for an office—a new against an old candidate—the test would be the slavery question. The new man, if he would be elected, had always to go a step farther in this direction; for if the new man went no farther than the old in his belief in the divine character of slavery, then there was no use of making any change in the office (laughter). Thus the practice got to be quite fashionable. But while speaking of this, I regret to say that there were those who should have been preaching the Gospel of peace—or at least those whose duty it was to have been so employed—who rather spent their time in endeavoring to prove that slavery was an institution ordained of God. I have had about the same opinion of those who pretended that it originated in hell as I have had of the others. My simple, uninstructed, perhaps ungenerate view is, that God knows best, and I, like some others, believe that in His own good time He will bring about the proper remedy and the development of His own inscrutable purposes; that He has permitted this institution to exist for purposes of His own; and that when these intentions are fulfilled and accomplished, the same Great Power will resolve the mystery. That is the view I have taken of the question.

There was but one way, it was frequently urged, by which the Northern people could be made to heed the complaints of the South, and that was, they said, to go out of the Union, not with the view of staying out; but, said they, the sooner and the more decisively you act, the quicker will the North be brought to make terms with you. This was the argument in the United States Congress, in the Southern press, at the hustings, and at all public places through the South. Men were led by these specious pretences to go for peace, believing that it would lead to a sound and perpetual peace. But there were others who had thought deeply and maturely on this matter, who did not go to the polls as they had been urged. They said to their friends, what have we to do with this. These are unauthorized, illegal and revolutionary acts, and we will give no countenance to them, by refraining from the polls. Let the mad men who choose go to the polls and vote. The result of this was that not a one-third vote was cast in many of the States. In many other cases where a majority of votes were cast, they took it as the opinion of the whole State. It is now known that in Louisiana the majority of votes were cast against secession but without effect. In another State it was announced publicly that every vote would be openly polled so that everybody should know who were and who were not in favor of the rotten, sinking, old concern of old Abe Lincoln. Ah! fellow-citizens, every man should have gone up to the polls then, and have declared his views, and have got his fellow-citizens to join and to fight with them in so noble a manifestation. But most of us like to read of and admire the deeds and sufferings of martyrs rather than to become one of the number (laughter and applause), and even if I were emulous of becoming a martyr myself, I would rather fall in some other mode than by a rough rope around my neck, at the dead of night, in a lonely prairie, and left a king where the raven alone would pass and flap his funereal wings. If a man can go forward in [illegible] to see and admire him, and extol his courage to meet death in defense of his country or in obedience to his conscience, there is something sublime and inspiring in his fate. But the other process is not very inviting. You may ask if these things have happened. I say, aye; they have happened; they are happening now; and they will continue to happen until the last free spirit is compelled to flee from the South, or until this government can relieve them (loud applause).

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If thus it be true that slavery is the cause of this rebellion; if the object of the slaveholders be a distrust of leaving power in the hands of the non-slaveholders; if the danger of slavery was so great as to justify them in their devotion to the institution to destroy the United States, then I say that I have changed my views in regard to that institution, and have sundered my allegiance, if I ever had any, to slavery (loud and continued applause). Fellow-citizens, I have had to go through no gradations in this change. Nor will the men who compelled me to leave my State be at all disappointed when they hear what I have said here and will say elsewhere. I advise them in advance that if they would force upon me the issue of disloyalty to the government that has always blessed me, has blessed my father before me, and which I have never known but in connection with blessings, if they bring into question my loyalty to that government with my loyalty to slavery, my choice is easily made (applause). If they compel me to elect between my children and their negroes, a fool would tell where I would be found (applause). That issue is upon you to-night, upon me and upon every man from Maine to Mexico. Shirk it if you can, I speak without bitterness, save and except of those who have deliberately sought to do those great wrongs to humanity. But the men, without whose coöperation at the ballot-box and in the army, they could have accomplished nothing, have greatly changed in their views. (The speaker then drew a touching picture of the former comfort and happiness of the Southerner and his misery in the rebel army at present.) Continuing his speech, he said:

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And now, fellow-citizens, the question is, is it proper, is it practicable to restore things as they were? It is a fashionable term here to say, "We are for the Constitution as it is, and for the Union as it was." The Constitution as it is! Yes. The Union as it was: No. (This was said with much feeling and earnestness and drew down tumultuous applause. A Voice—"How about Seymour." The interruption was hissed, and the speaker continued.) I invoke the aid of the loyal people in restoring the government of the United States. But, fellow-citizens, if you had the power, and were to tender to me to-night, the restoration of the Union as it existed in the State of Texas in 1861, I would not thank you for the boon (applause). If, because I cannot measure my conscience or judgment with those of my neighbor, or of a majority of my neighbors, I am to be looked upon with coldness, suspicion and aversion; if I am to be insulted and spit upon by the children of my neighbors whom I may have dandled on my knees, thinking that they would at least remember me with kindness as their father's neighbor and friend; if I am to be looked upon as something loathsome, because I cannot believe that slavery is the beginning and the end of all legitimate government; if, above all, I cannot say what I believe, that there are excesses and abuses in respect to that institution, which ought to be looked to; if, in short, because I might say what Washington said, believing it; what Jefferson wrote, and what all the good and great men of that day believed, I am to be stigmatized as a traitor, and made to suffer a traitor's doom; if that is to be the result of the "Union as it was," I want no such Union (applause). If, when the Union is restored, as I trust it will be, I may be at liberty to go out and realize the fact in a practical sense that I am the recipient of the great and inestimable right intended to be secured to me by the Constitution of the United States; if I can enjoy the right of speech as well as the liberty of conscience, then I can bless such a Union; but I cannot bless one which "holds out the word of promise to the ear to break it to the hope." I cannot consent that my children shall ever be under the necessity of running around the streets of the village where I may happen to live busily engaged in trying to impress it on everybody's mind that they are sound on the subject of slavery. I do not speak from the bitterness of hatred to the institution of slavery. I do not pretend—for I cannot be a hypocrite—that my conscience has ever hurt me on account of being the owner of a slave. It is not proper to discuss that question with gentlemen who differ from me. Let it suffice that the rebels have tendered the issue of slavery on the one hand, freedom to the white race on the other. I am for freedom to the non-slaveholder as well as to the slaveholder. I speak on behalf of the once enfranchised free non-slaveholders of the South, who are vastly superior in numbers to the slaveholders. I care not how much I may be assailed with the charge of appealing to the prejudice of classes. If the spirit of dire conflict arising out of the antagonism of these two classes should ever present itself in my path, I can say truthfully, "Shake not thy gory locks at me—thou can'st not say I did it." I did not seek to change the relations that existed between these classes, but I begged earnestly and heartily, before they entered on this experiment, that they should not do it. I said to them, "Gentlemen, you know not what you do; you will dig a gulf, an impassable gulf, between yourselves and the non-slaveholders—you must do it. Why do you think so? Because you cannot make this a liberal government. It is impossible. The reason is obvious. You never can, with safety to your new government, give the non-slaveholders the same measure of liberty and independence which they enjoyed in the old. They have got sense enough, whatever you may believe of their want of intelligence, to feel and realize that their *status* has been lowered in government and in society, and they will begin to make the pillars of your Confederacy tremble about your ears. While you want to use them for the purpose of placing the chains forged for them on their wrists you talk differently to them; but when you get them once in your power, when you get the machinery of your government at work, and all the arms in the country in your possession, you will begin to unmask your designs." This is the way I spoke to them. And surely enough Mr. Spratt and Mr. Garnett of Virginia (this latter, however, was preceding the revolution) have unfolded the policy of the new government. In every neighborhood, in every town, in every district of the country, the prevailing cant is that republicanism is a failure. Fellow-citizens, I do not stop to reason the question as to whether there is a conflict between free labor and slave labor; but one thing I do know, that the slaveholders intend that slavery shall flourish and be perpetuated if democracy does perish; and it becomes the duty of every man who loves republicanism more than he loves slavery to accept the issue tendered by the South.

* * * * * *

You must even see to it that—at the hazard of foreign war superadded to this cruel rebellion at home—republicanism is to be maintained even down to Central America (applause). We must not permit poor, suffering Mexico to become the victim of Louis Napoleon (applause). The movement on Mexico of that artful, mysterious, inscrutable man is full of warning to the people of the United States. Five years ago he would not have dared to lay his hands on that government, because it was well understood abroad that we had enunciated the policy that there was to be no interference by foreign powers with the institutions on the continent of America. Secession had not more than developed itself, actual hostilities had but just commenced, the two sections had but fairly grappled with each other, when we find England, France and Spain uniting to interfere in the affairs of Mexico. Now it is France alone. If Napoleon is sending out eighty or a hundred thousand more men there it is not alone for the purpose of penetrating to the Capital of Mexico, and coercing the payment of moneys due from that government to citizens of France; but it is for the purpose of changing the institutions of that country permanently as the best and surest means of aiding in the downfall of republicanism here. Mr. Hamilton went on to urge the reposing of all confidence in the Administration and its Generals, and ended a two hours' speech by quoting the passage from Daniel Webster—"If freedom is to go down on this continent, let it fall at last, if fall it must, amid the proudest monuments of its own glory, and on the very spot of its origin" (applause).

Col. Hamilton made similar addresses to the above at two public meetings in New York last week.

THE COLORED PEOPLE OF BROOKLYN ON COLONIZATION.

A meeting of the colored people of Brooklyn was held at the Bridge Street Methodist Church, on Wednesday evening, to take into consideration the President's emancipation proclamation, and other matters of interest to the colored people of the North in the present crisis. J. W. B. Smith was chosen Chairman, and Theodore Voorhis Secretary. The Chairman, on taking the chair, said that the proclamation of the President was causing great feeling among the free colored people of the North. They had been pained to hear from his lips that they had been the cause of all this bloodshed, and that his race and theirs could never dwell together in this land on terms of equality. And what was it proposed to do with us? Why send us to Chiriqui—a place than which, if Satan himself had been sent to search, he could not have selected a worse. He objected emphatically to this proposition, for various reasons; among others, the existence of the Spanish Peon law, by which, if one of the emigrants happened to get into debt, he could be sold into slavery for its payment. Besides, it was an extremely unhealthy colony, where no people of any race could maintain their health for two years. Of Honduras the speaker had a much more favorable idea, and he entered into a glowing description of the country, its healthful climate, its productive soil, and its luxuriant vegetation.

Mr. Hamilton was next introduced, and, like the Chairman, spoke in the strongest terms against the proposals to colonize the contrabands, and such of the free colored people of the North as chose to accompany them, in the Chiriqui country. He said that it was unfortunate, to say the least, that Senator Pomeroy had made the acquaintance of Mr. Thompson's Coal Company. He thought that the Chiriqui scheme would turn out to be quite as much in the interest of said coal company as for the welfare of the contrabands. He could not see why Honduras should not be selected, for that country would be entirely acceptable to the contrabands, or such others as might go with them. He spoke of the application of the Colonial Secretary of Demerara, who had just arrived here in search of contrabands. He had had an interview with that gentleman, and he found him a little the greenest customer he ever met with. He appeared to have no idea that colored people were to be picked up here like hogs and transported wherever their captors chose to take them. The speaker said he informed him that if he got any colored people from this country, he would have to approach them as though they were men, and not brutes. In the same vessel that brought this Colonial Secretary to New York, arrived letters to the speaker, counselling him to oppose his mission, and saying that Demerara has no place for colored people to emigrate to. The writer of the letter was a thorough West Indian, and understood the whole subject from beginning to end.

Rev. James N. Gloucester next took the stand, and took ground against all these schemes for colonizing the contrabands. The services of the contrabands were required in this, the land of their birth, and the first service asked of them should be service in behalf of the government. They were loyal citizens of the government, and should be allowed to assist her in her struggle against her enemies. Let the government put arms in their hands, and God would see to it that this system of oppression against which she is struggling would find its quietus, and the victims of slavery would proclaim their own emancipation (great applause).

The speaker concluded by reading a letter, written by himself to Senator Pomeroy, protesting against the whole scheme for expatriating the colored people from the land of their birth, as unnecessary, impolitic and unjust. The sentiments put forth in the letter received the unanimous approval of the audience, and were enthusiastically applauded.

Rev. Mr. Thompson was then introduced. In reference to the colonization scheme, he said it was his settled conviction that the colored people would never, in large numbers, leave the country. A few might leave the country for one cause or another—some to escape being mobbed, others in hopes of bettering their condition—but the idea that the mass of the colored population would willingly leave their homes and their native land was preposterous, and might as well be dismissed, once for all. Those who wish to go, whether to Africa, Hayti, Chiriqui, Honduras, or elsewhere, let them go; but why send agents all over the country to urge those off who preferred to stay here.

Mr. Geo. W. Lavara next addressed the audience. He was thankful for the President's proclamation; it was a long step forward, in his opinion, it was the greatest and best paper issued since the foundation of this government. President Lincoln was placed in a different position from us: he knew better than we what was needed at the present time, and he believed the President's action was the best under the circumstances that could be had, and would work the greatest good to the cause of emancipation. There was no probability that the rebels would lay down their arms at this threat of the President, and he confidently looked forward to the 1st of January to see the results anticipated by the proclamation. He was not a prophet, nor the son of a prophet, but he would prophesy that the first of next January would be a "happy New Year!"

ADDRESS OF THE GOVERNORS OF THE LOYAL STATES TO THE PRESIDENT.

Washington, Oct. 2, 1862

The following is the address to the President of the United States adopted at a meeting of Governors of the loyal States, held to take measures for the more active support of the government, at Altoona, Pennsylvania, on the 24th day of September, 1862:

THE ADDRESS TO THE PRESIDENT.

After nearly one year and a half spent in contest with an armed and gigantic rebellion against the National government of the United States, the duty and purpose of the loyal States and people continue and must always remain as they were at its origin, namely: To restore and perpetuate the authority of this government and the life of the nation, no matter what consequences are involved in our fidelity. Nevertheless this work of restoring the republic, preserving the institutions of democratic liberty, and justifying the hopes and toils of our fathers, shall not fail to be performed, and we pledge without hesitation to the President of the United States the most loyal and cordial support hereafter, as heretofore, in the exercise of the functions of his great office. We recognize in him the Chief Executive Magistrate of the nation, the Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the United States, their responsible and constitutional head, whose rightful authority and power, as well as the constitutional powers of Congress, must be vigorously and religiously guarded and preserved, as the condition on which alone our form of government, and the constitutional rights and liberties of the people themselves, can be saved from the wreck of anarchy or from the gulf of despotism. In submission to the laws which may have been, or which may be duly enacted, and to the lawful orders of the President—coöperating always in our own spheres in the National government—we mean to continue in the most vigorous exercise of all our lawful and proper powers, contending against treason, rebellion and the public enemies, and, whether in public life or in private station, supporting the arms of the Union until its cause shall conquer—until final victory shall perch upon its standard, or the rebel foe shall yield a dutiful, rightful and unconditional submission.

And impressed with the conviction that an army of reserve ought, until the war shall end, to be constantly kept on foot, to be raised, armed, equipped and trained at home, and ready for emergencies, we respectfully ask the President to call for such a force of volunteers for one year's service, of not less than one hundred thousand in the aggregate, the quota of each State to be raised after it shall have filled its quotas of the requisitions already made for volunteers and for militia. We believe that this would be a measure of military prudence, while it would greatly promote the military education of the people.

We hail with heartfelt gratitude and encouraged hope the proclamation of the President, issued on the 22d inst., declaring emancipated from their bondage all persons held to service or labor as slaves in the rebel States where rebellion shall last until the first day of January ensuing. The right of any person to retain authority to compel any portion of the subjects of the National government to rebel against it, or to maintain its enemies, implies in those who are allowed the possession of such authority the right to rebel themselves, and therefore the right to establish martial law or military government in a State or Terri- government to liberate the minds of all men living therein, by appropriate proclamations and assurances of protection, in order that all who are capable, intellectually and morally, of loyalty and obedience, may not be forced into treason, as the willing tool of rebellious traitors. To have continued indefinitely the most efficient cause, support and stay of the rebellion would have been, in our judgment, unjust to the loyal people whose treasure and lives are made a willing sacrifice on the altar of patriotism, would have discriminated against the wife who is compelled to surrender her husband, against the parent who is to surrender his child, to the hardships of the camp, and the perils of battle, and in favor of rebel masters permitted to retain their slaves. It would have been a final decision alike against humanity, justice, the rights and dignity of the government, and against a sound and wise National policy. The decision of the President to strike at the root of the rebellion will lend new vigor to the efforts and new life and hope to the hearts of the people. Cordially tendering to the President our respectful assurances of personal and official confidence, we trust and believe that the policy now inaugurated will be crowned with success, will give speedy and triumphant victories over our enemies, and secure to this nation and this people the blessing and favor of Almighty God. We believe that the blood of the heroes who have already fallen, and those who may yet give up their lives to their country, will not have been shed in vain.

The splendid valor of our soldiers, their patient endurance, their manly patriotism and their devotion to duty, demand from us and from all their countrymen the homage of the sincerest gratitude and the pledge of our constant reenforcement and support. A just regard for these brave men, whom we have contributed to place in the field, and for the importance of the duties which may lawfully pertain to us hereafter, has called us into friendly conference.

And now presenting to our National Chief Magistrate this conclusion of our deliberations, we devote ourselves to our country's service, and we will surround the President with our constant support, trusting that the fidelity and zeal of the loyal States and the people will always assure him that he will be constantly maintained in pursuing with vigor this war for the preservation of the National life and the hopes of humanity.

A. G. Curtin,
John A. Andrew,
Richard Yates,
Israel Washburne, Jr.,
Edward Salomon,
O. P. Morton (by D. G. Rose, his representative),
Samuel J. Kirkwood,
Wm. Sprague,
F. H. Pierpont,
David Tod,
N. S. Berry,
Austin Blair.

ATTACK ON A COLORED SOLDIER.

Prince Rivers, an Orderly Sergeant in the 1st Regiment South Carolina Colored Volunteers, who lately accompanied Gen. Hunter from Port Royal, was insultingly addressed yesterday, in Fifth street, near Arch, by half a dozen newly recruited white soldiers. They averred that they were soldiers of McClellan, and did not allow "niggers" to wear uniforms. They thereupon ordered Rivers to take the stripes from the arm of his coat, or they would do it for him. Rivers stepped into William Still's store near by, and insinuated that if they touched him, he would break their heads with his stick, and thus kept them at bay till police officers arrived and dispersed his assailants. A considerable crowd had collected during the scene. Rivers is a fine and soldierly-looking man, of great intelligence, and returns to Port Royal to-day, to take his place in the regiment, which was recently furloughed by Gen. Hunter for several weeks, till government decided to receive and pay them as members of the United States army. This has now been done, the regiment has returned to duty, and moreover the enlistment of a colored brigade of five thousand men has been ordered, which is fast filling up.

Rivers states that of the 1st Regiment South Carolina Colored Volunteers one company has had a skirmish with the rebels near St. Simon's, in Florida, and after an exchange of twelve rounds caused them to flee.

The following has been shown us as the certificate of Gen. Hunter upon the character of Sergeant Rivers:

> "The bearer, Prince Rivers, has been a Sergeant in the 1st Regiment of South Carolina Volunteers, is a first-rate soldier, and a reliable man."

Now that colored men are fairly members of the U. S. army, it may be as well to remark that the early Zouave regiments of the French army were black and that the Turcos, composing some of the best fighting regiments in that service, are also Africans. The African race are also largely employed as soldiers in the English army stationed in the West Indies.—*Philadelphia Press, Oct. 1.*

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THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND THE WAR.

[The General Triennial Convention of the Episcopal Church of the United States was begun last week in New York. This body always votes down any attempt of its small minority of enlightened members to utter a genuine testimony concerning the great question of the time. But some of its delegates, in view of the magnitude of the interests involved in the present Civil War, thought that the Convention could not fairly suffer the opportunity to pass, this time, of doing its duty toward the nation and the age. The following report will show how this expectation was disappointed.]

Judge Brewster, of Pennsylvania, arose and said he had just arrived from the battle-field of Antietam, and he was surprised that there was no speech nor action here to indicate that we were at war with rebels. He had been reminded that the Church was eminently conservative and opposed to radicalism, but he deemed it his duty to present the following resolution:

Whereas, It has pleased the Supreme Ruler of the universe to permit sedition and privy conspiracy in our midst to culminate in an extensive rebellion against the civil power ordained by Him, and for the just punishment of our sins, there is war in the land—friend against friend, brother against brother, son against father; and whereas, a portion of our brethren of the Church have attempted to sever by ecclesiastical enactments the visible bond of Christian sympathy heretofore existing between us and them, thereby grievously rending the body of Christ in his Church; and whereas, we acknowledge there is no help but from God, and rejoice that we are permitted to fly to Him for succor in our sore distress; therefore be it

Resolved, That the House of Bishops is hereby requested to set forth for the use of this Convention during its present session a special form of prayer, confessing and bewailing our manifold transgressions, pleading for God's forgiveness, begging that it may please Him to be the defender and keeper of our National government, giving it the victory over all its enemies, that He will abate their and our pride, assuage their malice and confound their devices, and giving them better minds, forgive them for the evils they have wrought. That He will restore our National Union, bring back peace and prosperity to the State and godly unity to the Church, and that He will keep us therein by His perpetual mercy to the honor and glory of his name.

The reading of the resolution kindled a storm of excitement. Dr. Leeds, of Pennsylvania, was opposed to the resolution offered by his colleague. Mr. Goddard, of Ohio, moved to lay the resolution on the table. The Rev. Dr. Doane desired the resolution to be laid upon the table without discussion. Judge Chambers, of Maryland, was for choking off all discussion on the subject. Mr. Hoffman, of New York, called for the yeas and nays on the question of laying the resolution on the table.

The following is the result of the call: Yeas 72, Nays 31.

[Among those who voted nay, were Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, and Horatio Seymour, Democratic candidate for Governor of New-York. A little advance on time past!]

Mr. Ruggles, of New York, moved a reconsideration of the vote.

The Hon. Mr. Carpenter, of New Jersey, the Rev. Mr. Goodwin of Philadelphia and Judge Conyngham of Pennsylvania ably sustained the motion made by Mr. Ruggles. Judge Chambers made a discursive speech against reconsideration. Judge Redfield objected to the form of the resolution, giving that as the reason why he voted to lay it on the table. He said he thought the less we said, and the less we did in that direction, the better it would be for the peace of the country. He intimated that the reporters might perhaps say that the Convention had refused even to pray against the rebellion.

Mr. Ruggles was surprised that Judge Chambers should call him a "firebrand" for asking a reconsideration of the vote.

The Hon. Murray Hoffman made an eloquent argument in favor of the spirit of the resolution, and intimated that he designed at some future time to introduce a series of resolutions in relation to the question under discussion.

The Rev. Mr Doane, of New Jersey (son of the late Bishop Doane), desired the Convention to say nothing and do nothing in relation to the subject.

The Rev. Dr. Mead, of Conn., offered a substitute for the resolution.

Ex-Governor Hunt, of N. Y., arose and said he had come to the Convention not expecting that the troubles of the country would be brought up in any form in that body. There was no reason why the Church should make expressions of loyalty. He would not do it in deference to the press nor any outside influence. He considered it one of the most fortunate events that the Church was entirely free from all responsibility for the rebellion. The apple of discord has never been allowed in the Church. He could proclaim before high Heaven that the Church was not responsible for the evils that have fallen upon the land. He had hoped no propositions would be brought forward that would stand in the way of the future union of the South with the North. Let us do nothing to widen the breach between us. *He begged to remind the Church that those who now had the semblance of enemies might at a future day become our friends.* He wished all the propositions relating to the subject referred to a select committee.

Judge Chambers again took the floor. He desired to know who dared to bring the charge of disloyalty against the Church. The idea of purgation had been introduced, he claimed that the Church was pure. The South was bone of our bone and blood of our blood.

Professor Shattuck said that as a representative of Massachusetts, he was willing to acknowledge his sins and the sins of the tongue in Massachusetts. He did not propose to confess the sins of South Carolina. As a citizen of Massachusetts, he was willing to shed his blood and treasure to defend his country, but he would like a form of prayer from the Bishops to ask God to forgive the sins of Massachusetts.

Dr. Francis Vinton, of Trinity Church, then came forward, and taking his stand in the aisle, made the speech of the session. He boldly charged that this difference of opinion was but the echo of the gun fired at Richmond at the last meeting of the General Convention, when out of courtesy to delegates from another section of the country, certain questions on which they were sensitive were kept in the background and lost. This was not now a question of rebellion against the government merely, but of rebellion against the Church.

The President stopped the speaker to announce that the House of Bishops had sent in the following resolution:

The House of Bishops, in consideration of the present afflicted condition of the country, propose to devote Wednesday, the 8th day of October inst., as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, and to hold in Trinity Church a solemn service, appropriate to the occasion.

The Bishops affectionately request the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies to join with them in said observance. Thus (said the eloquent speaker) we have the endorsement of the House of Bishops, which comes to us like a voice from Heaven. We are here as the trustees and guardians of the Church. To ignore this question is to be false to our trust. The finger of scorn would be pointed at every man who would stifle an expression of our loyalty. Human nature and Southern human nature would respect us the more for taking a decided stand on this question. If the Church South had done its duty, the rebellion would not have assumed the phase it has taken. He had in his hand a letter from Bishop Polk which afforded proof of that fact. The Church South had ignored the Church North, and adopted another form of prayer for the Confederacy, instead of for the United States. The South has ignored the prayer-book, ignored the Church, and is in open rebellion against the Church. The men who stood arrayed against the Church and country ought to have been, and might have been, in the performance of their duty, the conservators of our national unity. It was the duty of that body, as intrusted with the keeping of the Church, to rebuke those who had offended. They owed it to their own self respect to take a manly and Christian course, and administer rebuke where sin was committed, otherwise in the event of a future Union of the Church their Southern brethren would despise them. The Rev. Doctor was exceedingly eloquent, and produced a profound sensation in the House.

The Rev. Dr. Goodwin, of Pennsylvania, followed in a calm, philosophical and exhaustive argument. He proceeded to answer every question raised against the resolution, and said that the adoption of a prayer for the country, in which they could all unite was demanded at that moment. He quoted the rebellion of the South, and the treason of churchmen, some of whom might believe they were right, to show that private conscience could not be depended on as a guide in the matter.

In the course of his remarks the speaker was interrupted by Judge Chambers of Maryland, who wished the Convention to note that he had not introduced politics for their consideration.

The Hon Mr. Hoffman having been frequently alluded to and not in a complimentary manner by Judge Chambers, who anticipated something unpleasant without knowing what was to come, read a proposed preamble and resolutions in explanation, as follows:

Whereas, A number of the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America have taken up arms to overthrow the lawful government set over them, and others of such members are aiding in such unlawful rebellion; and Whereas, The members of this Church in the several States and through the agencies of parishes, assemblies or communities appointed deputies to a General Convention in which, in the year 1789, they adopted and declared a Constitution for the government of the Church; and

Whereas, Every one admitted to holy ordinance in such Church has, upon such admission, solemnly engaged to conform to the doctrine and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, which doctrine and worship are set forth in the Book of Common Prayer, ratified in the year 1789, and declared to be the Liturgy of the Church, and required to be received as such by all the members of the same; and

Whereas, It is in such book directed that there shall be read a prayer for the President of the United States and all others in civil authority, and to which the people present are bidden to say Amen, and thus was recognized the civil authority to which the members of this Church owe obedience; and

Whereas, The Convention of South Carolina did in May, 1861, declare itself no longer under any obligation of obedience to the Constitution of the Church, and permitted alterations in the Prayer Book to be made by the Bishop of the diocese, and recognized the power of bodies other than the General Convention to change such book, and in the month of June, 1861, the Convention of the diocese of Louisiana did resolve that it had ceased to be a diocese of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, and on the 3d day of July, 1861, deputies from the Conventions of the diocese of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi and Texas, passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the secession of the States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas and Tennessee, from the United States, and the formation by them of a new government called the Confederate States of America, renders it necessary and expedient that the dioceses of the Protestant Episcopal Church within those States should form within themselves an independent organization, and did proceed to adopt and recommend for ratification a constitution and form of government independent of that of this Church, and in the month of July, 1862, the Convention of the diocese of Virginia did adopt such Constitution, and did consent to the alteration of the Book of Common Prayer, and did substitute for the prayer for the President of the United States of America a prayer for one in open rebellion against such United States; therefore,

Resolved, That the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America is alone the particular or National Church for all who have acknowledged themselves its members, to which authority is given, as declared by the 34th article, to change and establish rites and ceremonies.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this House, all ministers and other persons who have united in the acts and proceedings before set forth, have fallen into the sin of disobedience to the Church.

Resolved, That the House of Bishops be requested in their pastoral letter to call upon the members of the Church who have wandered into these offenses to return to a better mind, and all others to pray that God in his mercy would bring them back, so that our Christian region may rest again in quiet and order; and bring our men to godly concord, that our Church, our land, our government, and people may be continually saved and defended by His abounding goodness and almighty power. And be it further

Resolved, That the House of Bishops be requested to revise the first part of the homily against "Disobedience and willful rebellion," so that a portion thereof may be read in churches, to the effect that "we all make continual prayer unto Almighty God, from the bottom of our hearts, that He will give His grace, power and strength to the President of the United States and all in authority over us, to vanquish and subdue as well rebels at home as foreign enemies, that all domestic rebellion being suppressed and pacified, and all outward invasions repulsed and abandoned, we may long continue in obedience to our lawful government and that peaceful and quiet life hitherto we have led, and may altogether, in obedience unto God, the King of Kings, and unto His holy laws, lead our lives so in this world that in the world to come we may enjoy His everlasting kingdom."

After a brief speech by Mr. Hoffman in support of these resolutions, and a few remarks by the Rev. Dr. Mead, the vote on the reconsideration was called for.

CLERICAL VOTE.

Against reconsideration	12
In favor of reconsideration	8

LAY VOTE.

For reconsideration	10
Against	9

The motion to reconsider was then declared lost.

[On the next day, some of the more progressive members of the Convention moved to reconsider, with a view of having the whole subject thoroughly discussed. Great effort was made to stave off this prospective discussion, but a motion was finally carried to take up the state of the country on Thursday next. Next week we shall inform our readers of the final issue of this already famous debate.]

GEN. WADSWORTH'S LETTER,

ACCEPTING THE REPUBLICAN NOMINATION FOR GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.

New York, Sept. 29, 1862.

Gen. James S. Wadsworth—*Dear Sir:* I have the honor to inform you that you were nominated for the office of Governor of the State of New York by a Convention composed of men resolved to maintain the integrity of the Union without regard to their past party relations, and held at Syracuse on the 24th of the present month.

I enclose the series of resolutions adopted by the Convention, as an indication of its sentiments and purposes.

Your nomination was made with a very remarkable degree of unanimity and enthusiasm, and, on behalf of the Convention, I beg leave respectfully, to request your acceptance of it. I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Henry J. Raymond,
President of the Convention

GEN. WADSWORTH'S REPLY.

Washington, Oct. 2, 1862.

Hon. Henry J. Raymond, President, &c.:—*Dear Sir:* I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of September 29, informing me that the Convention held at Syracuse on the 24th of that month, composed of men resolved to maintain the integrity of the Union, irrespective of their previous party associations, had done me the honor of placing my name before the electors of the State of New York for the office of Governor.

I respectfully accept the nomination.

I cordially agree with the Convention in the sentiments expressed in their resolutions, and, if elected, I shall zealously labor to carry out their wishes as therein defined.

I might, perhaps, with propriety stop here, but as the duties of my present position will not allow me to return to New York for some time, and possibly not until after the election has been held, I ask your indulgence while I express briefly my views as to the questions involved in the canvass.

I think I cannot be mistaken in assuming that the election will turn upon the necessity of sustaining our National government in its effort to uphold itself, and maintain its territorial integrity, and especially upon [illegible] and referred to in the fourth resolution of the Convention.

I entirely approve of that proclamation, and commend it to the support of the electors of New York for the following reasons:

1. It is an effectual aid to the speedy and complete suppression of this rebellion.

Six or eight million of whites, having had time to organize their government and arm their troops, led and supported by the labor of four million of slaves, present the most formidable rebellion recorded in history.

Strike from this rebellion the support which it derives from the unrequited toil of these slaves, and its foundation will be undermined.

2. It is the most humane method of putting down the rebellion, the history of which has clearly proved that the fears of slave insurrections and massacres are entirely unfounded. While the slaves earnestly desire freedom, they have shown no disposition to injure their masters. They will cease to work for them without wages, but they will form throughout the Southern States, the most peaceful and docile peasantry on the face of the earth.

The slave-owners once compelled to work for their own support, the war must cease and its appalling carnage come to an end.

3. The emancipation once effected, the Northern States would be forever relieved, as it is right that they should be, from the fears of a great influx of African laborers disturbing the relations of those Southern industrial classes who have so freely given their lives to the support of the government.

This done, and the whole African population will drift to the South, where it will find a congenial climate and vast tracts of land never yet cultivated.

I forbear to enter into the discussion of the great increase of trade to the Northern States and the whole commercial world which would result from the wants of four million of free and paid laborers over the same number held as heretofore in slavery.

I forbear also to enter into the question of the ultimate vast increase in the production of the great Southern staples. This is not a time to consider questions of profit. It will long be remembered, to the great honor of the merchants, bankers, and manufacturers of the North, that giving the lie to the calumnies of slave-breeding aristocrats, who charge them with being degraded and controlled by the petty profits of traffic, they have met the numerous sacrifices of this great struggle with a cheerfulness and promptness of which history furnishes no parallel.

Nor is the question now before us one of philanthropy alone, sacred as are the principles therein involved, nor is it a question of abstract ideas, involving an unprofitable discussion of the equality of races. It is simply a question of war, of national life or death, and of the mode in which we can most surely and effectually uphold our government and maintain its unity and supremacy.

Our foreign enemies, for it is not to be disguised that we have such, reproach us with waging a territorial war. So we do; but that territory is our country. For maintaining its greatness and power among the nations of the earth, by holding it together, they hate us. We can bear it; but if we were to yield to their suggestions, and submit to its dismemberment, they would forever despise us.

This great domain, from the lakes to the gulf, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, one country; governed by one idea—freedom—is yet destined to dictate terms, if need be, to the world in arms, and I hold that man to be a traitor and a coward, who, under any defeats, any pressure of adversity however great, any calamities however dire, would give up one acre of it.

It is more than a year since I left our State. Great changes have taken place within that period. Costly victories and disastrous defeats have, in the vicissitudes of war, befallen our arms. Bereavement and destitution have overtaken many families.

I can only judge of the spirit of my fellow-citizens of New York by that of her gallant sons who have rushed to the field. These I have seen in great numbers, and particularly those who have been in the hospitals within my command.

Among these brave men, feeble and exhausted by disease, tortured and mutilated by cruel wounds, I have never yet heard the first word of despair, the first sigh of regret, that they had given health and life to their country.

If we may judge of the spirit of those they have left at home, and who may yet be called to the field, by the heroic temper of these men, we have nothing to fear as to the result.

In the solemn verdict of the ballot and the deadly conflict of battle the government of the people will be sustained.

I beg that you will accept for yourself, and convey to the members of the Convention over which you presided, my sincere thanks for the great honor which they did me in placing my name before the electors of New York for a position so responsible and distinguished as that of Governor of the State.

I am, sir, with great respect, truly yours,

James S. Wadsworth.

Gen. Reno's last words, before being carried away wounded from the battle-field, were: "Boys, I can be with you no longer in body, but I am with you in spirit."

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1862.

Correspondents will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "Editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard, No. 48 Beekman Street, New York."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "Publisher of the Anti-Slavery Standard, No. 48 Beekman Street, New York."

HOW THE PROCLAMATION IS RECEIVED.

The reception of the Great Proclamation by the loyal people of the North has been such as they that have long hoped and prayed for it could have desired. The time was fully ripe for the measure, and it has met with a response of marvellous unanimity and enthusiasm from all true hearts. It has been a touchstone to try the genuineness of loyalty, and much has proved dross that had passed current for fine gold. This is one of its blessed incidents. It divides the precious from the vile, the false from the true, the goats from the sheep. The secret enemies of the government, who masked their scarcely-concealed treason under the show of peculiar and eminent fidelity to the Constitution, and who believed that they could depend on the President as the dupe if not the accomplice of their treachery, now stand displayed to the sight and scorn of all honest men. They pledged themselves, forsooth, to stand by the President, believing in their hearts that he would stand by them. They deprecated all interference with the safety or comfort of slavery by Congress on the ground that it was the peculiar and especial prerogative of the President to disturb its rest or its life, in the firm faith that he never would do anything of the kind. And the new party in Massachusetts, the breath of whose nostrils is hatred of Senator Sumner and the single end of whose existence is to defeat his reëlection, made support of the President the trump card of their hand, believing that he could be played effectually to make the game of the great Massachusetts Senator a losing one. And just at this moment the President interposes his proclamation, covering more ground than Mr. Sumner himself had ventured to hope for, and fully accepting him as the exponent of his policy which there his enemies had just pledged themselves to sustain. There was never a happier coincidence than the timing of the proclamation, considered in its relations to treason at the North even more than to rebellion at the South.

With the exception of the low shameless presses and profligate politicians who seem really to feel that affection for their Southern masters which they slanderously attribute to their black brethren in bondage, and whose heart's desire it is to see slavery reëstablished in its dominion over the whole land more firmly and more despotic than ever, with these exceptions, there seems to have been but one feeling, of relief from anxious expectation and long-waiting hope, fast turning to despair, and of joy that a way of permanent deliverance has at last been opened. We are now rewarded for the tedious months of delay, which have lagged so slowly over our heads, that we watched wearily until our hearts almost sickened. And as it has not come too late, perhaps it comes with a greater momentum for the adjournment of our hopes. The Abolitionists took the ground, at the breaking out of the war, that the occasion had come which the patriarch John Quincy Adams had seen in vision, when slavery might be abolished by proclamation, under the war-powers of the Constitution. They argued that neither victory nor peace could be had as long as slavery, the cause and the main stay of the war, was upheld by the National arm, or not destroyed by it. Like other prophets they uttered their words in unheeding ears. It was affirmed that the war had no concern with slavery, but with rebellion only, and that its end was to reëstablish the Union, at all points, as it was before it began. We never urged this action upon the government on the ground of its being sanctioned by justice and humanity. We knew that, in a sense, the government had no business with either the one or the other in its governing capacity. We pressed it upon the country, the Congress and the President as the only effectual way of conquering a peace, as a war measure, pure and simple. But none of these great Powers believed that it was so, and they all waited to see the effect of our arms in reducing the rebels to submission, without any disturbance of their domestic relations and institutions. All the honest part of the nation have seen the error of their ways, through the disasters and distresses of the last fifteen or sixteen months. Light has glimmered through that gloom enough to show them that they must choose between being slaves themselves or giving freedom to the slaves of the rebels. None hesitate at the choice but those who choose darkness rather than light and political serfage to the liberty of the children of light.

To be sure, we still believe that if the war had been pressed vigorously last Autumn and the rebel Capital been in our hands last December, as we all now know that it might have been, a temporary peace could have been patched up and the rebellion salved over with disgraceful and ruinous compromises. But this would have been no true victory, no lasting peace. The rebels would have accepted such a plan of pacification only as an opportunity for preparing for another attempt to ruin if they could succeed in ruling the nation. The political agitations arising out of the new and more stringent relations of slavery throughout the country would have been fiercer and bitterer than ever, and the country would have been hardly a fit habitation for honest men. Such a state of things must have resulted in an outbreak of civil war, sooner or later. The passions of men were altogether in too exalted a state to have settled down into the calmness of despotism, without a resolute struggle. It was in the apprehension of such fatal half-measures that we prayed the President and Congress to take this step at the outset, fearing that our very victories might be turned into the most disastrous of defeats. And we think we have had many narrow escapes from this calamity. The strange confidence which the nation placed in Gen. McClellan—strange, because he had done nothing to earn it—was overruled for our deliverance. Any other General, from the highest to the lowest, would have captured Richmond ten or eleven months ago. The delay of no other General would have been endured by the country. Any other would have been kicked on to Richmond or kicked out of the army. That delay saved the rebellion for the time, and destroyed slavery for all time. So, no other General would have been sustained by the country in the scheme of reaching Richmond by way of the peninsula of Yorktown, or could have survived its failure. We do not at all impute to Gen. McClellan any false play or treasonable purpose in all this. We believe, with Mr. Lincoln, that he wished to beat the enemy; but we cannot but be painfully aware that he has not succeeded in enjoying the fruition of that just desire, up to this time. We are willing to believe that he has done his best, but he certainly has not ended the rebellion.

What was needed to secure a reconciliation, without detriment to slavery, was quick and resolute action. Had such been had, the rebellion would have been strangled in its cradle and never grown up to have a giant's strength and to use it most like a giant. The rebellion would have been ended, the recalcitrant States would have come back into line, they would have sent up their Senators and Representatives, the strong pro-slavery reaction which was in full play before Sumter would have spread and perhaps prevailed for a season and the last end of the nation would have been worse than the first. Civil liberty would have gone to the wall, or been saved only by civil war which would have divided the North against the North, as well as the North against the South. The reprieve of a year given to slavery has made its triumph impossible, in this kind. It has given the country time, opportunity and means to see slavery in its true colors and to discern how inherent in its very nature is aggression and spreading tyranny. That of its nature it must grow or die. A year ago great multitudes would have counted it great gain to win the revolted States back again with all their chains for their slaves and themselves, because they did not see the inseparable nature of those mutual bonds, who now see how impossible it is for slavery and liberty to dwell together in unity. Cruel as has been the cost of the last year, it is cheap as the education of a nation into the knowledge of what its existence, its prosperity and its glory demand, now and for all time to come. We believe that the historian of this time will trace the victory which we now believe we will have to record, through the disasters and follies and infatuations, political and personal, through which we have passed and with which we are not yet even entirely done. To sustain the President, to enlighten the honest public, to expose and denounce the insidious as well as the impudent foes of the nation, is now the duty of every good citizen. A policy is at last in present operation, with a yet greater "all hail, hereafter," and not long hereafter, neither. The dregs of such a disorder as slavery may lurk long in the constitution of the American people, but they will be dispersed the sooner the more thoroughly and effectually the disease is broken up by the wisely heroic treatment of the good physician.

PRACTICAL EFFICIENCY OF THE PROCLAMATION.

In spite of the deficiencies of the President's proclamation—in spite of the fact that its provision for freedom is, to so large an extent, prospective instead of immediate, and partial instead of universal—it has already accomplished much, and in various ways, towards the overthrow of the rebellion, and the establishment of liberty as the corner stone of our new National edifice.

It has played the part of Ithuriel's spear both towards Northern hunkers and Southern rebels, dissipating the false pretences in which they sought to conceal themselves, and exposing both, in their true characters, to public contempt.

A short time before the publication of this important paper, many of those presses and individuals in the North who claim to be considered preëminently *conservative* had become so far encouraged by the President's dislike of an emancipation policy, as to change their course towards that functionary. Instead of denouncing him in their former manner as a mere partisan, a "sectional" President, they began to praise his wisdom and firmness, and went on to proffer their special services in his support.

The President's unworthy reply to Horace Greeley's letter gave new confidence to these Northern hunkers, and their satisfaction was increased by his reply to the address of the Chicago delegation, which showed, they thought, a fixed determination to stand by the conservative policy in regard to slavery. Thereupon, the men and the journals who had always urged that policy began to raise the cry that the President must be sustained; and some unlucky individuals of this stripe in Boston and Cambridge excited their brethren of like faith in some principal towns of Massachusetts to publish a protestation to this effect, with their hands and seals attached. The energy of the language in which this new-born zeal for the President was couched makes it worth our while to quote a paragraph from the document in question, as follows:

"The hands of the President, the chosen and only head of the nation, must be strengthened by the people. He is striving in this hour of peril, with all his strength, to save the country. *Let the people pledge to him their most generous confidence and support—and not turn from him in coldness, or palsy his efforts with a feeble and half confidence.* Pledge, then, to the President the lives and fortunes of a united people. Let him be sustained and carried in triumph through the struggle. His patriotism and self-sacrifice deserve it—*our duty demands it.*"

[illegible] this,—the utterance of Judge Joel Parker, of Cambridge, backed by the signatures of fifteen hundred of the men best known in the movements of pro-slavery parties in Massachusetts.

A very few days after the issue of this document, the President's proclamation appeared, committing that functionary, and the government of which he is the head, to the very policy most ardently deprecated by the fifteen hundred, and making the roll of their printed names a list of killed and wounded. An unlooked-for sequence of events had caught them in a trap as effectually as the plotting of their worst enemy could have done; and these lovers of slavery have now the option of keeping their words, and helping the President in his warfare against slavery, or of *eating* their words, and proving that the loyalty expressed in their paragraph above quoted was hollow and deceptive, a specimen of that "conditional loyalty" which they have been forward in stigmatizing.

Besides unmasking these Northern men with Southern principles, the President's proclamation compelled the reptile of Secession to drop one of its customary disguises, and appear exposed in its native deformity.

One of the false pretences made by agents of the rebels abroad and at home was that their movement was not made in behalf of slavery. This is the device by which they hoped to secure European intervention in their behalf; and their agents in France and England have constantly pointed to the slave States still acting with the Federal government as proving that North and South stood precisely on the same ground in regard to the maintenance of slavery. Now that the President has formally attacked the existence of slavery among the rebels, while at the same time he proposes to Congress a series of measures looking to its peaceable extirpation from the loyal States, that pretence, whether wholly or only partially false, would soon have been exposed and rendered inoperative, in the natural course of things, even if the Confederate Congress had not completed the exposure by their late paroxysm of fury. But since they fall into a rage at the first mention of extensive practical interference with slavery by the United States government, and propose, in retaliation, to exterminate every Northern soldier, and henceforth disregard the humaner limitations of civilized warfare (as if they had ever observed those limitations), it is plain not only that slavery is very precious in their eyes, but that they consider it most seriously endangered by the President's proclamation.

We trust that no reader of The Standard failed to notice an extract from the Richmond *Dispatch* in our last number, pointing out the custom of the slaves to escape as fast as the presence of our armies gave them the opportunity, and declaring that many masters "are deluded by implicit confidence in the fidelity of their servants." While Southern men are openly making such admissions, their Northern parasites may as well cease from pretending either that the slaves are contented with their bondage, or that the President's proclamation will be inoperative, a *brutum fulmen*, a powerless threat. The slaveholders see at once that lightning goes with such thunder; they already feel this to be the heaviest stroke of the war.

Of course, the stroke would have told with vastly greater effect had the emancipation been immediate instead of prospective. If news had come to the rebel Congress and the rebel army that they had already lost their slaves, instead of being merely threatened with the loss of them in three months, it would have given a far more serious shock to their counsels and to their military movements. Abraham Lincoln could at once have placed a loyal force in the rear of every rebel force, embarrassing their return home not less than their advance into Maryland or Pennsylvania. He could have inflicted upon the whole body of the enemy a shock more stunning than Stonewall Jackson ever brought upon any portion of our forces.

The mistake of not having done this is as great in a moral and religious as in a military point of view; because our duty, yet more than our military necessity, demands the abolition of slavery. God has a controversy with this nation, on account of its sin of oppression. He demands repentance now, reformation now. He demands of Abraham Lincoln present payment of a debt long equitably due; and the President gives him his note at ninety days. As long as full payment is postponed, we fail to get into a right position. We lose, too, as long as this thorough rectitude of position is unattained, that hearty and resolute enthusiasm which goes with the consciousness of right. The thought that we were battling for freedom, for a truly free country, for institutions henceforth to be stamped with the seal of civil, intellectual and religious liberty, would nerve the arms of our soldiers to a yet higher heroism. This is the one thing yet lacking to our cause.

We mention these things, not to complain of the President, but to suggest some needful work yet to be done, the further change of public opinion towards the right. Many things may happen—possibly new outrages of the enemy in revenge for this very proclamation—rendering it necessary or highly desirable for the President to shorten the term of delay of emancipation. If any such exigency does occur, let not the President remain a moment in doubt of the course desired by loyal men at the North. Let him feel that, just in proportion as he advances towards the purification of our government, our flag and our institutions from all taint of complicity, or connection, or contiguity with slavery, just in that proportion will he move the hearts of the Northern masses to shout with one accord—God bless Abraham Lincoln.

Our Boston Correspondence.

CHARLES SUMNER IN FANEUIL HALL.

Boston, October 7, 1862.

The meeting yesterday in Faneuil Hall was most truly, and in the best sense, a great one. It was great in numbers, great in the character of those who constituted and supported it, great in the enthusiasm with which it greeted and sustained the President's proclamation, his emancipation policy, and the war, now more clearly than ever a war for justice, liberty, and a true and enduring Union. And especially was it great in the sentiments and principles enunciated from its platform, both in the resolutions, which were adopted with the most hearty demonstrations of satisfaction and applause, and in the magnificent address of the eloquent, patriotic, and honored Senator of Massachusetts, Hon. Charles Sumner, to which the vast audience gave not merely willing, but delighted audience for fully two hours. The meeting was a hopeful augury for Boston—a city too long cursed by the concentration here of the lords and subalterns of the liquor traffic, of shelved and disappointed politicians from all parts of New England, of political demagogues of the lowest and most shameless description (by whom the large Irish population here has been deceived and misled to an extent unparalleled in any other city or section of the country), and of those poor ignorant and wretched creatures, victimized by the classes before-mentioned and especially by ready access to vile liquors, creatures of whom, as you look into their dreadful countenances disfigured by every low passion and habit, you instinctively question whether they really belong to the rank of humanity or to that of the wild beast of prey. Some one hundred of these, were in the vast meeting at Faneuil Hall yesterday—in it, but not of it—summoned thither at whose instigation no one doubts, who endeavored by such ways as came easy and natural to them to interrupt and embarrass the meeting and Mr. Sumner; but who utterly failed to accomplish their disgraceful purpose, being (not shamed, that was impossible, but) completely overborne by the perfect unanimity and hearty demonstrations of the meeting. It was a great day, too, for Massachusetts, witnessing the return of Mr. Sumner to her capital city at nearly the close of his second term of service as her Senator, his triumphant vindication of the course he has pursued in the United States Senate, and the unanimous verdict of his constituents in Faneuil Hall—"Well done, good and faithful servant."

Gov. Andrew had been expected to preside, and the disappointment at his absence was great; but the reason of it was sufficient for the audience, he being detained in Washington by official duties to the Massachusetts soldiers now in the government hospitals at Washington and elsewhere. The disappointment fell also at the absence of Richard Busteed, Esq., of your city, was very great indeed. Mr. Busteed had accepted the Committee's invitation to be present, and to address the meeting, but at a late hour he wrote to them from a sick bed to say it was impossible he should come, adding his cordial testimony and support to the great objects of the meeting.

Hon William Claflin, Chairman of the State Republican Committee, was chosen to preside. The organization was completed by a long list of Vice-Presidents, etc., bearing the names of some of the most intelligent, honored, and influential men of the State.

Mr. Sumner, in proceeding with his address, read a portion of the President's proclamation of September 22d, calling attention to the fact that the emancipation was not wholly prospective, but in a very important degree *immediate*—giving freedom at once to slaves of rebels, or of persons aiding the rebellion, coming within the lines of the army, and to all slaves captured from such persons, or deserted by them, and coming under control of the United States, and all slaves of such persons found or being in places occupied by the forces of the United States. Already this amounts to a great number made absolutely and at once free, which will daily swell until it becomes a multitude. Thank God, said Mr. Sumner, that I live to see this day—that my eyes have beheld this great salvation. And the vast body of people arose with one consent and with the deepest feeling, the ladies waving their handkerchiefs, and the men giving cheer upon cheer with a heartiness perfectly electric.

He did not fail to notice the seditious and treasonable movements which under the specious name of "No Party," was lately started in this city and Cambridge. He quoted, and applied to it, Col. Benton's sarcasm, that one might always be sure, when the "No Party" cry was raised, that its movers stood ready to become head or tail of any party however shameless or low that would receive them. And when closing his speech, refering to the same discontented and spiteful men who were to hold their "People's Convention" next day in the same place, he said. "Above all, let no one of us join himself to the enemy, even though he should pitch his tent for a little, even here in Faneuil Hall."

He referred incidently to the fact that during the entire time of his two terms in the Senate (covering a period of twelve years) he had never once been at home during a session of Congress, and never absent from his place a single day—"*save when compelled by illness*"—uttering these words slowly and with emphasis. He challenged inquiry of the closest and most critical kind into his public life. "I fear no inquiry" said he "even though instigated by the venom of political party." He replied to specific charges most commonly made against him, viz.: That he had called slavery a barbarism—which he candidly owned he had, and he reaffirmed it then and there: that he had brought slavery too often before Congress and the nation; that he had made the slave and his interests too prominent, and the like. Then he read Edmund Burke's splendid defence of himself in his letter to the electors of Bristol, and claimed that, however unlike that great man in intellect or in fame, he might make the same defence for himself.

He argued that the war had been waged, and should be waged, simply to put down the rebellion—that it was not to overthrow slavery, however, that might become through the madness of the slaveholders an inevitable consequence. To put down the rebellion was the absolute duty of the government. "There is nothing which the President may not constitutionally do, to put down the rebellion. Inaction only is unconstitutional now."

He quoted with overwhelming effect the language of Thomas Jefferson, that if the British had landed in Virginia in the Revolutionary war, and emancipated the slaves, it would have been entirely right. And this war, he said, can never be ended successfully without an appeal to the enslaved millions of the South.

Freedom is now, said Mr. S., the policy of the government. Whoever opposes emancipation, acts as hostile a part to the government and country as he who discourages and seeks to prevent enlistments. We must all unite to sustain the President, by every means in our power, to do this great act of equity and to end the war, and forever crush the rebellion. "Trust yourselves to the principles of justice, and you cannot fail." God is calling to this nation now, as he did of old, "Let my people go." And every loss we suffer, every drop of blood shed in this war, the last accumulating debt, and even every derangement of business, echo the call, "Let my people go." There are, he said, but two parties now, the party of the country with the President as its head, and emancipation as its glorious watchword, and the party of the rebellion with Jefferson Davis as its head, and with no watchword but that of slavery.

At the close of the meeting, that mountebank, George F. Train, sprang upon the platform and endeavored to address the audience. The meeting had been adjourned and the hall given into the charge of the city officers. Mr. Train refused to desist, at their request, and was removed from the hall by the police. As he was very turbulent and violent, he was conveyed to the station house, and kept imprisoned some hours.

The meeting was a most triumphant one for the cause of "Liberty and Union, one and inseparable."

Truly yours, [illegible]

Our Washington Correspondence.

Washington, Oct. 6, 1862.

The President having returned from his visit to Gen. McClellan's headquarters, and to the army under his command, we have the usual crop of rumors of a change of Generals. One of the rumors is, that Hooker is to command the Potomac army henceforth and that McClellan is to take Halleck's place. Halleck to go West, or out of the service. I cannot see probability in this story, though many persons of position and intelligence in Washington credit it. There is need of Halleck or somebody else in the West, for Buell is incompetent. The straits of the government can be understood from the removal and instant reinstatement of Buell. We seem to have no great Generals *anywhere*. If we have them, the government is not smart enough to discover them. Buell's Summer campaign in Tennessee and Kentucky is a dreadful failure. His whole army is demoralized by his continuous retreats, and one is not surprised to hear by telegraph that when he began the work of fighting over the ground lost, great numbers of his troops *deserted*.

Even Buell's friends complain. This is what one of them says:

"Kentucky is given over in nearly its whole length and breadth to the plundering of the rebel horde, who may have gone thither for that express purpose, but could hardly have counted upon such entire immunity from the interference of our army. In the meantime we have powerful forces on the northern boundary of the State looking on to witness this strange transfer of a great and rich tract of country so recently held by them, but from which they have somehow expelled themselves.

"A necessary incident in this singular campaign is the abandonment of Cumberland Gap by Gen. Morgan. The position was gained by great effort, and it is of immense importance to us whenever we shall undertake the long desired enterprise of relieving the loyalists of East Tennessee. But Gen. Morgan had become entirely cut off from his supplies, his men were on short allowance, and he has made a successful retreat to the Ohio river. Then we shall have the campaign of Kentucky to be fought over again. No competent judges estimate the aggregate of rebel forces in the State at more than two-thirds of our own. And yet they have the field to themselves. They are gathering in supplies, of which they are in the utmost need, and which no State in the Union can afford in richer abundance, and they are undoubtedly obtaining many recruits."

Yet Buell is placed in his old command after having been removed. What is the matter? I allude to this subject at length because it looks very much as if there was an important history connected with it. Some time ago the leading men of the North-west came on here to demand the removal of Buell. Governors, Senators, Representatives—in fact the leading men of the North-west came on to remonstrate against keeping a stupid General longer in command of the great army of the West. They felt that they had the right to remonstrate, as it was troops from Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, who fought under Buell. At last, as was believed, the government listened to their complaint. Buell was removed. But he is a favorite with Kentucky. *He is pro-slavery.* In one day Kentucky made so much noise over his removal that the government backed completely down and gave Kentucky her favorite, and compelled the thousands of soldiers from the free States of the West to fight under a General in whom they have no confidence. It matters little, perhaps, whether Kentucky be gratified or not, but the great danger is in the irresolution of the government. Is it constantly undecided, and without any confidence in itself or its actions? Then again what a lesson is this for other border States! All that a State has to do is to demand the government to reinstate this or that General, and it will do so. The pro-slavery journals are full of complaints against the Republican Governors who have recently met and discussed military matters, but not one of them ever dreamed of dictating a General to the President. What if Massachusetts had asked a command for Fremont? We should have never heard the last of it. But Kentucky clings to the man who has ruined her, and must have her way. So far as Mr. Lincoln is concerned in this matter, no doubt he is trying to do the best thing in his power. With the emancipation proclamation in Kentucky he may feel that it is wise to humor the loyal citizens in the selection of a General within the State. But these very Kentuckians give notice that they will never acknowledge the power or the right of the President to enforce such a proclamation. Mr. Wadsworth said in Congress last winter that he would make war upon the Federal government if it ever attempted to overthrow slavery in Kentucky. Of course this is treason, or something very like it.

The rebels talk of hoisting the black flag in retaliation against the emancipation proclamation. *Let them do it.* If twenty Northern men cannot protect themselves against four Southern men and their retaliatory acts, we may as well find it out now. The proclamation is good for nothing if we are not stronger than the rebels. If we are, *they* will lose by retaliation—*not we*. If they commence the job of exterminating us we will finish by exterminating them. For if they kill Northerners in cool blood, we must do the same to them. There is no other way. If Jeff. Davis dares to murder a Federal prisoner, let him witness a good-sized slave insurrection in Virginia or South Carolina. If the rebels are determined to become ferocious in their mode of conducting the war, we shall be forced to fight them with their own weapons. We cannot do otherwise. The government may attempt another policy but the soldiers of our armies will not run the risk of murder in case they are taken prisoners without retaliating upon rebel prisoners who are captured. Then let the rebels "raise the black flag" if they will. All that we have to do is to outfight them.

The lull at this particular time in military and political matters is a little singular. There has been no time in Washington this summer when there was such a sterling absence of all news, public or private, as now. It may be the calm that precedes the storm, or it may be that we are drifting upon steady, dull times. Who can tell? The prophets (and we have many of them at the Capital) predict stirring times immediately—that a great battle will soon occur near to Winchester. I should believe more fully in this theory of the future did I not know that Gen. McClellan is exceedingly cautious. It is precisely, however, what one would think our army would do if it is strong enough to make success certain. It is better for our cause that the rebels should remain where they are, even if there be no fighting for some time. If they fall back on Richmond it will take our army till midwinter to overtake them. But if the rebels wait where they are, there is a more chance that we shall so hem in their rear that they can never get back to Richmond. But our grandiloquent talk in the past of "bagging the enemy" has taught the people to have little confidence in the boasts of our Generals. It is probable enough that Lee will get off when he gets ready. It is scarcely within the bounds of possibility that any one of the national Generals will ever "bag" him. The only hope is in pushing him to the Gulf of Mexico. If we can put an army of one million in the field soon the rebels must retreat unless we have no generalship at all. Gen. Lee is, however, watching very carefully to get an opportunity to take our army at a disadvantage. If he can find such an opportunity, and can fairly beat us, he will have come very near winning the independence of the South. If he fails in this, no doubt his intention is to hold our forces at bay and fall back gradually, prolonging the retreat till winter thrusts us into the mud of Virginia.

Gen. Halleck and Gen. Sigel are still at swords' points figuratively speaking. The "little Dutchman," as some of his admirers love to call him, has unquestionably received somewhat harsh treatment from Gen. Halleck. The General-in-Chief is constitutionally a harsh, overbearing man, and his profession has not amended his constitutional infirmities. A great many of our army officers are brutes. Nelson, who was killed at Louisville, was a foul-mouthed ruffian when angry. Those who knew him will remember how provoking a man he was in his language. It is not at all surprising that Gen. Davis killed him, holding, as he did, Southern views on such subjects. It is to be hoped that Sigel's resignation under no circumstances will be accepted, and that no quarrel between him and Halleck will be permitted to continue. We need all our strength in generalship just at present. None of our fighting Generals can be spared. Give us moderate generalship for the next two months, and I have great hopes of fine successes. There is a strong belief in the successful advance of our armies here. It is thought that we have passed through the worst stages of the war, and that henceforth there will be daylight to the end of the journey. So may it be. AVON.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, October 6th, 1862.

NEARLY thirty years ago the British Parliament declared for emancipation in their West India Colonies. That act was the glory of England. And yet it was neither instant, immediate nor unconditional in its operation. It was not to go into effect till the "1st of August" ensuing; a point of time some months ahead. It was an act of *gradual* emancipation, requiring a probation of six years apprenticeship as a preliminary to complete liberation. It provided no compensation for the slaves, but ordained the payment of $100,000,000 as indemnity to their masters. This act, therefore, was not one of impartial justice or uncompromising expediency. And such as it was it was wrung by the virtue of the people from the reluctant hands of hesitating Ministers and unwilling members of Parliament. You, Mr. Editor, must remember well the strong expressions of dissatisfaction elicited by the conditions of Mr. Stanly's bill. The "apprenticeship system" was denounced by leading Abolitionists in England as but a modification, not the actual abolition of slavery; and the compensation of the slaveholders instead of their victims was declared to be a perversion of justice.

And yet that act of the British Parliament of 1831 has been ever since regarded, and justly, as the crowning glory of British legislation. Imperfect and half-regenerate nations, like imperfect, semi-regenerate individuals, never perform acts, which, of themselves considered and in all their aspects, are of pure morality and heroic justice. The good they do is always marked by evidences of human infirmity; usually so much so as to require the mist of years and the charity of unrelenting memory, to a full appreciation of its magnitude. Our "Abolition Act of 1781" is justly considered by Pennsylvanians as constituting the brightest page of our State's history. Viewed from this point of time it was a measure of pure morality and the wisest statesmanship. And yet, studied in its details, and regarded from a cotemporaneous standpoint, it might have been a question with some whether there was not as much to deplore as to admire in the form of its provisions.

These thoughts have been suggested by noticing the very qualified approbation with which some of our friends receive the President's proclamation. They are glad—and yet they are sorry; they hope—but they fear: they believe—but they distrust. "Why did he not make short work of it," they ask, "and at once sweep the system out of existence, by proclaiming liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof? Why did he not keep out of his proclamation all further talk about gradually buying out unrebellious slaveholders and deporting to another country the unoffending blacks?" These are not practical questions. They are problems of the past, the discussion of which can be productive of no valuable benefit. What we have now to consider is what he did, not why he did not do something else. In considering this, let us be candid and make due allowance. Abstract questions of duty are easily settled; concrete ones are more difficult—especially to those who have the responsibility of their solution.

Considering all the circumstances of the case, and all the embarrassments of his position, Mr. Lincoln's proclamation of immediate and unconditional freedom to three million four hundred thousand slaves at a given day in the near future, was a manly and courageous exercise of a questioned prerogative, entitling him to the respect and grateful acknowledgments of all true-hearted people.

It is in vain that people try to belittle the act by calling it idle thunder—the object of which is beyond the reach of his power. Even if it should never emancipate a single slave, the act is a grand one, inasmuch as by it, the government, conscious of the legal right and power to uphold slavery, voluntarily waives the one, and promises to use the other only for the overthrow of the system. But the idea of its not emancipating a single slave, or of its being idle thunder, is simply preposterous. Slavery in all the States exists now, as it ever has existed, by virtue of the aid it derives from the National government. Withdraw that aid, as has now in effect been done, and no power on earth can save it from the overthrow that awaits it.

The slaveholders at the South, and their coadjutors at the North understand this, if others do not. "Let us deal with things as they are," says that discerning and unscrupulous advocate of the South, the Boston *Post*; "it is no use to cover anything up, or to try to make black white. *The proclamation is one of universal emancipation; nothing more, nothing less.*" Says the Harrisburg *Union*—the paper whose editor was the other day imprisoned for alleged acts of disloyalty: "The proclamation is an outrage upon the humanity and good sense of the country. It is *one of general emancipation*. In the States in rebellion the negroes are proclaimed free without compensation. In the loyal slave States, if there shall be any at that time (the 1st of January next), the slaves are to be paid for at a fixed compensation; so the President says, though there is not a dollar in the Treasury to do it with. In the name of the Constitution, of Humanity, and of Wisdom, we protest against this proclamation, and prophesy nothing but evil as its legitimate result."

Such is the language of Northern sympathizers with secession, and such the general outcry of that class of men, whose instincts as well as whose reason make them quick to discern the dangers that threaten their system. In the South it is the same thing. If any one is disposed to doubt the efficacy of the President's edict let him read the proceedings of the "Confederate" Congress; let him hear the howl of rage that came from that den of human-stock breeders, and if he does not find out the proclamation is something more than a *brutum fulmen*, it will be because he is insensible to evidence. With one voice the slaveholders denounce it as an edict of "universal emancipation"; an "incitement to servile war," an "invitation to general insurrection," worthy only to be held up to the "execration of mankind." Their confusion and dismay are seen in the fact that while in one breath they declare this to be the character and tendency of the document, in the next they boast that they are "abundantly able to maintain a salutary domestic authority, while at the same time our (their) armies meet Lincoln's in the field." All that is needed, they say, is a "little vigilance," and "suitable patrols." A very "few"—even "the infirm"—will answer for the purpose. But conscious that they don't believe what they say, they again break out with howls of terror and rage. Hear the Richmond *Enquirer*:

"Butler has been called infamous; by common consent he is known as the beast. But Butler is a saint compared to his master. In addition to all that Butler authorized, Lincoln adds butchery—even the butchery of babies. Language is too poor to furnish a name suitable for such a character. Nay, the whole catalogue of dishonoring epithets is not sufficient to do justice to it. 'Murder' is a term of honor compared to Lincoln's crime. 'Child and woman murderer' tells but part of the story. To this is added the cowardice of employing an agent; to this belongs the additional fact that the agent, when unloosed, is a savage; to this is added the further fact that Lincoln dooms his agent to destruction. What shall we call him? Coward, assassin, savage, murderer of women and babes and the false destroyer of his own deluded allies! Shall we consider these as all embodied in the word 'fiend!' and shall we call him that? Lincoln, the fiend! Let history take hold of him, and let the civilized world fling its scorpion lash upon him!"

These fellows have no fault to find with "insurrection" when they are the insurgents and it is the throats of the "Yankees" that are to be cut; they have nothing to say against "savage warfare" when they are stirring up the red men of the West to imbrue their hands in the blood of Union men, women and children, but when Mr. Lincoln gives them notice that they must lay down their arms against the government or take their chance of meeting a rising on the part of their slaves, their vocabulary is exhausted for a word to express their idea of his malignant demonism. Such testimony is strong as to the efficacy of the President's manifesto.

It will be noticed by those who read the ravings of the Confederates that their chief hope seems to be from their political coadjutors in the North. "It would not be at all surprising," says the Richmond *Whig*, "if it (the proclamation) were to excite not only resentment, but rebellion. Nor would it be astonishing if the elections during this Autumn were to be accompanied with armed collisions and illustrated by all the sanguinary phenomena of civil strife."

It is an amiable hope, but it is doomed to disappointment. Northern sympathizers—Democrats so called—will do all they can for their Southern brethren in the way of burrowing, and plotting, and contriving political majorities, but they will hardly let their sympathy take the form of open rebellion. This is an expedient that could only be justified in their opinion by the hope of success. But they will do all they can at the polls. They are now laboring night and day to counteract the President's proclamation and defeat the anti-slavery policy of the government, by procuring a vote which they can parade as a popular protest against both. In this they should not be allowed to succeed. The issue at the polls this year is a fair and square one between slavery and freedom. It is to be presumed that every Abolitionist having the right, and not restrained by conscience on other grounds, will give to the cause to which he stands pledged the benefit of his suffrage. Two years ago, the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, in defining their position under the Constitution, said—that as consistent Abolitionists they "could not vote or otherwise take part in politics until the Federal compact should be either dissolved, or so construed, by authority deemed to be competent, as to *give their suffrage in the eyes of the world the unambiguous meaning of a vote against slavery*." The latter contingency has now come. The man who goes to the polls this fall to sustain the Administration in its present attitude and policy gives an unambiguous vote against slavery, and in favor of impartial freedom.

Allow me a word more on the subject of the proclamation. It seems to me, it would be neither just nor wise in Abolitionists to underrate the scope and value of that document. On the contrary, it appears to me that we should accept it, by overt expression, for all that it is worth, and should by our grateful acknowledgments and avowed expectations, commit the President, so far as such a course could commit him, to a full and thorough execution of its provisions. *The Herald* and other Satanic papers are trying to play upon Executive weakness by affecting to regard the proclamation as merely minatory—as not likely to be put in force—and as in this view of it a very clever political expedient. They thus hope to wheedle the President out of his purpose. They are making it easy for him to recede, when he shall have been brought up to the point by other influences which they know so well how to bring to bear. Abolitionists should be careful how they aid them in their base design. Let us say openly what we must believe inwardly—that the President is in earnest; that he means all he says; and that he is entitled to all honor for committing himself before the world to a measure of such comprehensive beneficence.

I was intending to give you some account of a "Port Royal Relief" meeting which we have been holding, but I find I have not left myself space. I send you, however, a report from one of our daily papers, from which, as far as it goes, a pretty fair idea may be formed of its proceedings. The venerable M. W. Baldwin presided with characteristic dignity, and added much to the interest and value of the meeting by the pertinency of his remarks in introducing the speakers. Mr. French spoke well and was instructive. Robert Smalls exceeded everybody's expectation. Prepossessing in appearance and manner, he expressed himself with great felicitousness and was listened to with wrapt attention. Dr. Tyng's speech, owing to the lateness of the hour, was short—too short a great deal for his delighted hearers, but it was eloquent and pat to the point of public expectation. The people wanted to hear something about abolition and the President's proclamation, and he favored them on both of those points. He bore his testimony, and with his habitual strength of manner, in favor of immediate, universal, unconditional emancipation, with compensation to the slaves. Of the proclamation, he said it filled him with joy which he lacked words to express. M.

PERSONAL.

Mrs. Frances D. Gage sailed on Wednesday from this city to Hilton Head, S. C., to employ herself as a teacher of the negroes.

Hon. Cassius M. Clay addressed an immense audience in the Brooklyn Academy of Music on Tuesday evening last, in support of the President's proclamation.

Hon. Mr. Hutchings, successor to the seat of Hon. Mr. Giddings in the House of Representatives, has been spending a few days in Brooklyn, and shortly intends to see with his own eyes what is doing among the contrabands at Port Royal.

The venerable Joshua R. Giddings was in this city one day last week. He was in good health and spirits, and looked as young as he did ten years ago. His quiet yet laborious services at Montreal have been of great value to the government.

Rev. Dr. Cheever preached a vigorous discourse last Sunday evening, showing the good and the bad points of the President's Proclamation. We are glad to know that the Doctor's health, for which his friends feared during the summer, is now greatly improved.

A friend writes us, "I have just returned from the funeral of Abner Pugh, died 25th of Ninth month. The President's proclamation was read to him, when he exclaimed, '*I can now die in peace, having seen the salvation of my country!*'"

Rev. Daniel Waldo's *hundredth birthday* was lately celebrated in Syracuse. This venerable man was a soldier in the Revolution, has had personal interviews with each President of the United States, has served as Chaplain for many years in Congress, and is older than the Republic. Is he to survive it?

We have had the pleasure of an interview with Brig.-Gen. Saxton, of the Department of the South. We believe he is the right man in the right place. His views of the proper method of waging the war, which he expresses freely and openly, are such as are peculiarly gratifying to the friends of freedom.

Theodore Weld, one of the early and most eloquent advocates of the anti-slavery movement, but who, for some years past, has been engrossed in teaching, to the abandonment of the public platform, is shortly to return to the field of his former successes. He is to lecture in various places during the coming season, beginning at Music Hall, Boston, early in November. This announcement will be received with hearty satisfaction by his friends everywhere.

Parson Brownlow, in his address, last Thursday, at the Michigan State Fair, in Detroit, said:

Regarding Mr. Lincoln's proclamation, I will say, that if he means to free the slaves of rebels in arms, and pay loyal men for them, I am for it, out and out (enthusiastic applause). I think the proclamation well-timed, and fortunate at this moment. If it had been made a month or six weeks later, the rebels would have made a proposition themselves to England to take their negroes and colonize them, and I thank God that Old Abe has taken the starch out of them (cheers).

Gerrit Smith's address before the New York Anti-Slavery Society in Peterboro, Oct. 22, 1835 (twenty-seven years ago), has just been republished as a tract by some gentlemen in Peterboro, for general circulation. It is to the following point:

Resolved, That the right of free discussion, given to us by God, and asserted and guarded by the laws of our country, is a right so vital to man's freedom, and dignity, and usefulness, that we can never be guilty of its surrender, without consenting to exchange that freedom for slavery, and that dignity and usefulness for debasement and worthlessness.

Robert Smalls, the hero of the Planter, had a public reception in New York at the Shiloh Church (Rev. Mr. Garnet's) on Thursday evening, Oct. 2, where he was presented with a gold medal by a number of his new made friends. The medal bore on its face a representation of Charleston harbor, with the steamer Planter and Fort Sumter in the foreground, the Union squadron in the distance, and, on the reverse side, the following inscription:

Presented to Robert Smalls by the colored citizens of New York, Oct. 2, 1862, as a token of their regard for his heroism, his love of liberty, and his patriotism.

Robert Smalls, whose famous escape and personal appearance we have already made familiar to our readers, replied in a very modest address, recounting his desperate adventure, and expressing the hope that as he was about to return to his duty as a pilot on the Union fleet at Port Royal, he might yet guide it safely into Charleston harbor. Mrs. Smalls and her little boy Robert were presented, and the whole family were greeted with wild and prolonged cheering.

A NOTE FROM REV. THEODORE L. CUYLER.—We have received the following note from Mr. Cuyler, to which we cheerfully give place:

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

You fall into a singular error in your issue of Oct. 4th in making me say that "the Emperor of France is friendly to the Northern cause."

I said that *Prince Napoleon* (who visited this country last year) is our friend; but that "the Emperor keeps his own secrets."

What the Emperor's secret intentions are I do not pretend to divine; but I do not believe that he will dare to advocate a combined intervention in behalf of Jeff. Davis's ragged slaveocracy since the utterance of Lincoln's proclamation of freedom.

Yours, for liberty, THEO. L. CUYLER.

Brooklyn, Oct. 6, 1862.

THEOPHILUS PARSONS ON THE PROCLAMATION.—Mr. Parsons has addressed to the Boston *Daily Advertiser* a letter on the President's proclamation, in which he thus speaks:

"Some persons denounce the President's proclamation as unconstitutional; and this word exerts and should exert great influence. I suppose it certain that he has no power to emancipate slaves as a civil act; that he has a constitutional power to do this as a military act, grounded on a military necessity; that the Commander-in-Chief of our army must have the right to judge of the existence and the force of this necessity. It follows that if he has erred it was not by the assumption of a power he did not rightfully possess, but in the exercise of a right that belonged to him.

"I am not an Abolitionist. I did not expect or desire this measure, nor do I see its necessity. But why should I not defer to the judgment of the President? It was his duty to form and to act upon this judgment. He had acted under pressure, but it was a pressure on both sides. He knows all the facts upon which I could form an opinion, and many which I do not. He must know better than I how far it will be a help and how far a hinderance in the work he has to do. And he must know better than I can whether such a measure was necessary to arrest impending and important peril from abroad. Would it not be very foolish to suppose the judgment of one who had only my means of judgment likely to be wiser than that of one who has the means which the President possesses?"

It will be seen from an advertisement in our Philadelphia column, that our friend William Still, of that city, continues in the business of selling stoves, fitting up heaters, building kitchen-ranges, and doing all manner of work pertaining to this business, including also the supply of his friends and customers with first-rate family coal. As Mr. Still is always "fervent in spirit" as well as "diligent in business," serving the Cause, we trust our Pennsylvania friends will bear him in remembrance.

PENNSYLVANIA STATE MEETING.—We learn that the Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society will be held this year, as usual, in Horticultural Hall, West Chester, on Saturday the 25th inst. Official notice of the meeting will probably appear in our next paper.

A COMMUNICATION from our esteemed friend Aaron M. Powell is necessarily deferred till next week.

GARIBALDI ON THE AMERICAN REBELLION.—The American Consul at Vienna wrote to Garibaldi, asking, as he had failed in his patriotic efforts in Italy, if he would offer his valiant arm in the American struggle for liberty and unity, promising him an enthusiastic reception. Garibaldi, under date of September 14, replied: "I am a prisoner and dangerously wounded. It is consequently impossible for me to dispose of myself. However, as soon as I am restored to liberty, and my wounds are healed, I shall take the first favorable opportunity to satisfy my desire to serve the great American republic, of which I am a citizen, and which is now fighting for universal liberty." The above correspondence appears in *The Wanderer*, of Vienna.

Garibaldi's condition continues to improve, but it is expected it will be many months before he can be removed.

Chronicles of the War.

[In the absence of any special war news, we give the following important order by Gen. McClellan, and proposed action by the rebel Congress.]

Gen. McClellan on the President's Proclamation.

GEN. MCCLELLAN has issued the following order concerning the duty of the army toward the President's proclamation.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
CAMP NEAR SHARPSBURG, MD., Oct. 7, 1862.

GENERAL ORDER NO. 163.—The attention of the officers and soldiers of the Army of the Potomac is called to General Order No. 139, War Department, Sept. 24, 1862, publishing to the army the President's proclamation of Sept. 22. A proclamation of such grave moment to the nation, officially communicated to the army, affords to the General commanding an opportunity of defining specifically to the officers and soldiers under his command, the relation borne by all persons in the military service of the United States toward the civil authorities of the government.

The Constitution confides to the civil authorities, Legislative, Judicial and Executive, the power and duty of making, expounding and executing the Union laws. Armed forces are raised and supported simply to sustain the civil authorities, and are to be held in strict subordination thereto in all respects. This fundamental rule of our political system is essential to the security of our republican institutions, and should be thoroughly understood and observed by every soldier.

The principle upon which, and the objects for which armies shall be employed in suppressing the rebellion must be determined and declared by the civil authorities, and the Chief Executive, who is charged with the administration of national affairs, is the proper and only source through which the views and orders of the government can be made known to the armies of the nation. Discussion by officers and soldiers concerning public measures, determined upon and declared by the government, when carried at all beyond the ordinary temperate and respectful expression of opinion, tend greatly to impair and destroy the discipline and efficiency of the troops by substituting the spirit of political faction for that firm, steady and earnest support of the authority of the government, which is the highest duty of the American soldier. The remedy for political errors, if any are committed, is to be found only in the action of the people at the polls.

In thus calling the attention of this army to the true relation between the soldiers and the government, the General commanding merely adverts to an evil against which it has been thought advisable during our whole history to guard the armies of the Republic, and in so doing he will not be considered by any right-minded person as casting any reflection upon loyalty and good conduct, which has been so fully illustrated upon so many battle-fields. In carrying out all measures of public policy this army will, of course, be guided by the same rules of mercy and Christianity that have ever controlled its conduct towards the defenceless.

By command of Major Gen. MCCLELLAN.
JAMES A. HARDIE,
Lieut.-Col., Aid-de-Camp, and A. A. A. G.

The Rebel Congress on the President's Proclamation.

[President Lincoln's late proclamation of freedom has excited a characteristically furious debate in the rebel Congress, of which we append a report.]

In the rebel Senate, on the 29th of September, Mr. Semmes, of Louisiana, submitted the following joint resolution:

Resolved, by the Congress of the Confederate States, That the proclamation of Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, issued at the city of Washington, in the year 1862, wherein he declares "that on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord, 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated parts of a State whereof the people shall be in rebellion against the United States shall be thenceforth and forever free," is levelled against the citizens of the Confederate States, and as such is a gross violation of the usages of civilized warfare, an outrage on the rights of private property, and an invitation to an atrocious servile war, and therefore should be held up to the execration of mankind and counteracted by such severe retaliatory measures as in the judgment of the President may be best calculated to secure its withdrawal or arrest its execution.

Mr. Semmes, of Louisiana, said that the resolution had not been drawn without reflection. The question of retaliation was exclusively an executive one, to be regulated by circumstances. But it was proper that the legislative department of the government should express its approval of the retaliation contemplated by the resolution.

Mr. Clark, of Missouri, said the resolution did not go far enough. He thought the President should be authorized immediately to proclaim that every person found in arms against the Confederate government and its institutions, on our soil, should be put to death, and that every citizen of the Confederacy be proclaimed a soldier, for the time being, to execute the proclamation upon the persons of every murderer, thief and scoundrel endorsed and acting under the proclamation of Lincoln. Our people have been murdered, our property destroyed, and now this last and atrocious measure is proclaimed. It is now a matter of life and death. Let us meet the emergency. The resolution was not sufficient. He moved its reference to a special committee.

Mr. Phelan, of Mississippi, said that he had always been in favor of conducting the war under the "black flag." If that flag had been raised at Manassas a year ago, the war ere now would have been ended.

Mr. Henry, of Tennessee, did not think the resolution strong enough. The time had arrived when we should declare a war of extermination upon every foe that puts his foot upon our soil, no matter what may be the bloodshed it may cause. We should meet a foe of the character that menaces us under the black flag, and neither ask nor receive quarter from this day henceforward. In Europe armies have been known to pause when they knew no quarter would be given; officers have deserted their commands when conscious of the fate that would meet them if they fell into the hands of the enemy whose territory they were invading. The way was to declare a war of extermination, and, his life for it, we would not be troubled with invasion hereafter.

Mr. Phelan said the introduction of the resolution indicated the dawn of a better policy with reference to the future defence of our country. I am now and ever have been in favor of fighting this contest under the black flag. If it had been erected over the plains of Manassas one year ago, in my opinion, this war would ere this have been ended. I move it be made the special order of the day for twelve o'clock to-morrow.

Mr. Yancey, of Alabama, moved that the pending resolution, together with the resolutions submitted by him some time since relative to retaliation, etc., be referred to a select committee of three, and be made the special order for Wednesday next.

Mr. Burnett, of Kentucky, moved that all of said resolutions be referred to the Committee on Judiciary. This was agreed to.

[In addition to the above, we give the following propositions made in the rebel Senate, showing that the President's edict of Freedom is no mere *brutum fulmen*.]

THE PROCLAMATION AGAIN BEFORE THE REBEL CONGRESS.

WEDNESDAY, Oct. 1, 1862.

Mr. Semmes, of La., from the Judiciary Committee, to whom was referred the resolutions relative to Lincoln's emancipation proclamation, stated that a majority of the Committee favored the following bill:

Whereas, these States, exercising a right consecrated by the blood of our revolutionary forefathers, and recognized as fundamental in the American system of government, which is based on the consent of the governed, dissolved the compact which united them to the Northern States, and withdrew from the Union created by the Federal Constitution; and whereas, the government of the United States, repudiating the principles on which its founders, in their solemn appeal to the civilized world, justified the American Revolution, commenced the present war to subjugate and enslave these States under the pretext of repressing rebellion and restoring the Union; and whereas, in the prosecution of the war for the past seventeen months, the rights accorded to belligerents by the usages of civilized nations have been studiously denied to the citizens of these States, except in cases where the same have been extorted by the apprehension of retaliation, or by the adverse fortune of the war; and whereas, from the commencement of this unholy invasion to the present moment, the invaders have inflicted inhuman miseries on the people of these States, exacting of them treasonable oaths, subjecting unarmed citizens, women and children to confiscation, banishment and imprisonment; burning their dwelling-houses, ravaging the land, plundering private property; murdering men for pretended offences; organizing the abduction of slaves by government officials and at government expense; promoting servile insurrection, by tampering with slaves, and protecting them in resisting their masters; stealing works of art and destroying public libraries; encouraging and inviting a brutal soldiery to commit outrages on women by the unrebuked orders of military commanders, and attempting to ruin cities by filling up the entrances to their harbors with stone; and, whereas, in the same spirit of barbarous ferocity the government of the United States enacted a law, entitled "An act to suppress insurrection, to prevent treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate the property of rebels, and for other purposes," and has announced by a proclamation, issued by Abraham Lincoln, the President thereof, that in pursuance of said law, "on the 1st of January, 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall be in rebellion against the United States, shall be thenceforward and forever free," and has thereby made manifest that this conflict has ceased to be a war as recognized among civilized nations, but on the part of the enemy has become an invasion of an organized horde of murderers and plunderers, breathing hatred and revenge for the numerous defeats sustained on legitimate battle-fields, and determined, if possible, to exterminate the loyal population of these States, to transfer their property to their enemies, and to emancipate their slaves, with the atrocious design of adding servile insurrection and the massacre of families to the calamities of war; and, whereas, justice and humanity require this government to endeavor to repress the lawless practices and designs of the enemy by inflicting severe retribution. Therefore, the Confederate States of America do enact,

1. That on and after the 1st of January, 1863, all commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the enemy, except as hereinafter mentioned, when captured, shall be imprisoned at hard labor, or otherwise put at hard labor, until the termination of the war, or until the repeal of the act of the Congress of the United States, herein before recited, or until otherwise determined by the President.

2. Every white person who shall act as a commissioned or non-commissioned officer, commanding negroes or mulattoes against the Confederate States, or who shall arm, organize, train, or prepare negroes or mulattoes for military service, or aid them in any military enterprise against the Confederate States, shall, if captured, suffer death.

3. Every commissioned or non-commissioned officer of the enemy who shall incite slaves to rebellion, or pretend to give them freedom, under the aforementioned act of Congress and proclamation, by abducting, or causing them to be abducted, or inducing them to abscond, shall, if captured, suffer death.

4. That every person charged with an offense under this act shall be tried by such military courts as the President shall direct; and, after conviction, the President may commute the punishment, or pardon unconditionally, or on such terms as he may see fit.

5. That the President is hereby authorized to resort to such other retaliatory measures as in his judgment may be best calculated to repress the atrocities of the enemy.

Mr. Phelan, of Miss., submitted a minority report from the same Committee, in the form of a lengthy preamble, and the following resolution:

Be it resolved, etc., That from this day forth all rules of civilized warfare should be discarded in the future defence of our country, our liberties and our lives, against the fell design now openly avowed by the government of the United States to annihilate or enslave us; and that a war of extermination should henceforth be waged against every invader whose hostile foot shall cross the boundaries of these Confederate States.

Mr. Hill—I must be allowed to say for myself that I regard the proclamation of Mr. Lincoln as a mere *brutum fulmen*, and so intended by its author. It is to serve a temporary purpose at the North. I fear we are dignifying it beyond its importance. As the Senate has concluded to notice it, I am in favor of the simplest and most legal action. We must confine our action within the line of right, under the laws of nations. In my opinion we have the right to declare certain acts as crimes, being in conflict with civilized war, and the actors as criminals; and a criminal, though a soldier, is not entitled to be considered a prisoner of war. While, therefore, I approve the general idea to treat them as persons guilty of certain acts as criminals, contained in the bill reported by the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. Semmes), and agreed to that report as being the one most favored by the majority of the Committee, I, also, in accordance with the understanding of the Committee, propose the following bill, and ask that it be printed for the consideration of the Senate:

1. That if any person, singly or in organized bodies, shall, under pretence of waging war, kill or maim, or in any wise injure the person of any unarmed citizen of the Confederate States, or shall destroy, or seize, or damage the property, or invade the house or domicil, or insult the family of such unarmed citizen; or shall persuade or force any slave to abandon his owner, or shall, by word or act, counsel or incite to servile insurrection within the limits of the Confederate States, all such persons, if captured by the forces of the Confederate States, shall be treated as criminals, and not as prisoners of war, and shall be tried by a military court, and, on conviction, suffer death.

2. That every person pretending to be a soldier or officer of the United States, who shall be captured on the soil of the Confederate States, after the 1st day of January, 1863, shall be presumed to have entered the territory of the Confederate States with intent to incite insurrection and abet murder, and unless satisfactory proof be adduced to the contrary, before the military court before which the trial shall be had, shall suffer death. This section shall continue in force until the proclamation issued by Abraham Lincoln, dated at Washington, on the 22d day of September, 1862, shall be rescinded, and the policy therein announced shall be abandoned, and no longer.

Mr. Clark, of Mo., read a preamble and resolution embracing his views on the subject under consideration. The resolution proposed to recognize the enemy as "savage, relentless and barbarous," and declares that it "is the duty of the government of the Confederate States neither to ask quarter for its soldiers nor extend it to the enemy, until an awakened or created sense of decency and humanity, or the sting of retaliation, shall have impelled our enemy to adopt or practice the usages of war which prevail among Christian and civilized nations."

On the motion of Mr. Semmes, of La., the several bills and resolutions were ordered to be printed, and made the order of the day for to-morrow (Thursday), at one o'clock, p.m.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, Oct. 1, 1862.

The House met at twelve o'clock.

Mr. Lyons, by consent of the House, introduced a series of resolutions proclaiming the infamous character of Lincoln's late proclamation, exhorting the people of the Confederacy to kill every officer, soldier and sailor of the enemy found within their borders, unless a regular prisoner of war; declaring that after the 1st of January, 1863, no officer of the enemy ought to be captured alive, or if recaptured should be immediately hung; and offering a bounty of twenty dollars and an annuity of twenty dollars for life to every slave and free negro who shall, after the 1st of January, 1863, kill one of the enemy. Referred to Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Foote, of Tennessee, submitted a memorial on our new defences, by Gen. Henningsen. Referred to Committee on Naval Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. Foote reported resolutions, which were referred to Committee on Foreign Affairs, to appoint a Joint Committee to address the people of California, Oregon and the various Territories beyond the Rocky Mountains, on the expediency of hereafter establishing a league, offensive and defensive, between such States and Territories of the Confederate States.

Mr. Clilton, of Alabama, submitted resolutions in relation to retaliation, which, after enumerating the outrages committed and contemplated by the enemy, goes on to provide that after the 1st of January, 1863, all Federal officers captured within our limits shall be treated as felons, and, if condemned by court martial, hanged by the neck until they are dead.

THE PROCLAMATION IN THE VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE.

In the Virginia Senate on the 2d inst., Mr. Collier, of Petersburg, offered the following preamble and resolution:

Whereas, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by his recent proclamation, is aiming to hold in contempt the principle of property in slaves of African descent, which is no less consecrated in their Federal Constitution than in ours, and is aiming, by his [illegible] to excite a servile insurrection in our midst:

Resolved, therefore, That no person within this State shall be held to have committed any offence against the criminal laws thereof, or shall be tried, or imprisoned, or required by any magistrate, or judge, or police officer, to answer at any time for any act done in driving from the State, or putting to death, by any means, any person, with or without arms, who may be found on our soil, aiding or abetting in any way to give effect in this State or on its border, to the lawless and fiendish purposes of the said proclamation.

Referred to the Committee for Courts of Justice.

What the Richmond Papers Say of the President's Edict.

[The following extracts serve to show that every slave in the South will hear of President Lincoln's proclamation, by the pains which the Southern papers take to make it known.]

From The Richmond Enquirer, Oct. 1

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S proclamation, ordaining servile insurrection in the Confederate States, has not been for a moment misunderstood either North or South. After undertaking to destroy four thousand million of our property at a dash of the pen, Lincoln proceeds to say:

"And the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom."

This is as much as to bid the slaves rise in insurrection, with the assurance of the aid of the whole military and naval power of the United States. The New York *Times*, while applauding the wisdom of the proclamation, says:

"From now till the 1st of January—the day when this proclamation will take effect—is little over three months. What may happen between now and then, in the progress of the war, it is hard to say. We earnestly hope, however, that by that time the rebellion will be put down by the military hand, and that the terrible element of slave insurrection may not be invoked."

Deliberately and with full purpose our enemies have entered upon this step.

Is there any one who has not reflected upon the nature of the agency which Lincoln now invokes? A servile war is necessarily one of extermination, and the peculiar character of the negro adds to its inevitable horrors. Released from authority, he is at once a savage; and the very ignorance which drives him to his own destruction, stimulates him to the darkest excesses. How was it in Southampton in 1831, when Nat. Turner engaged in the work to which Lincoln now invites? Not satisfied with murdering the few men who fell into their power, they massacred even the babe in the cradle. They in this manner exterminated the family of Mr. Travis, Turner's kind and indulgent master. Next Mrs. Waller and her ten children were slain and piled in a heap on the floor. Near by, a school of little girls was captured, and all massacred except one, who escaped. The family of Mrs. Vaughan was next destroyed. In this manner, between Sunday night and Monday noon, they had murdered fifty-five persons, nearly all of whom were women and children. This is the sort of work Lincoln desires to see. This is the agency which Lincoln now invokes. It is one which the most callous highwayman should shudder to employ. This is now his war-cry! It is "as if the [vilest fiend] that fell had raised the battle-cry of hell!"

Butler has been called infamous; by common consent he is known as the beast. But Butler is a saint compared to his master. In addition to all that Butler authorized, Lincoln adds butchery—even the butchery of babes. Language is too poor to furnish a name suitable for such a character. Nay, the whole catalogue of dishonoring epithets is not sufficient to do justice to it. "Murder" is a term of honor compared to Lincoln's crime. "Child and woman murderer" tells but part of the story. To this is added the cowardice of employing an agent. To this belongs the additional fact that the agent, when unloosed, is a savage. To this is added the further fact that Lincoln dooms his agent to destruction. What shall we call him?—coward? assassin? savage? the murderer of women and babes, and the false destroyer of his own deluded allies? Shall we consider these as all embodied in the word "fiend!" and shall we call him that? Lincoln, the fiend?—let history take hold of him, and let the civilized world fling its scorpion lash upon him!

We have described Lincoln's intentions and wishes towards us. We have shown what terrors he would let loose, if he could. He is as bad as it his power corresponded with his avowed design. But, thank heaven! we are not delivered over to his will! We are abundantly able to maintain a salutary domestic authority at the same time that our armies meet Lincoln's in the field. Lincoln would simply drive our servants to their destruction. Cheerful and happy now, he plots their death. An insurrection is their swift destruction. How was it in the long-hatched Southampton case, to which we have already referred? Sunday night the insurrectionists began their work. Monday at noon they were in full flight, and hiding in the swamps. It needs scarcely be asked how they fared. They suffered a terrible retribution. They were hunted like wild beasts, as they were, and were at first killed wherever found. Several of these murderers of women and children were taken at the Cross Keys, and their heads cut off on the spot; afterwards captives were tried and hung—among them Nat. Turner, the leader. Some innocent ones are believed to have perished with the guilty.

So it will ever be with servile insurrections if attempted here. They can gain no foothold with proper vigilance. They will, at any rate, be as swiftly suppressed as a common riot, and terrible punishment will fall on the guilty. But what does the fiend care for that? He is the common enemy of both white and black.

The efforts of the fiend to breed discontent can be readily counteracted and provided against if we are vigilant; as we must be. The country courts or military authorities must establish suitable patrols for the preservation of the public peace. The men of a neighborhood, even if there be but a few, and if they be infirm, must keep firearms and form a neighborhood guard if necessary. A very little organization and preparation, with vigilance, will suffice to countervail all the efforts of the emissaries whom the fiend may send, and to overawe all turbulence. These things must all be duly attended to.

Our military operations are henceforth to assume a very grave character. The fiend's new programme will, necessarily, destroy all terms between us. The next campaign will be a tremendous one, both for the character and the magnitude of the hostilities. Let our authorities prepare the whole strength of our people for the tremendous shock. The enemy is making giant preparations, as well as issuing fiendish proclamations. We must respond with equal energy. If we do, we are safe now and ever. If we do not, we shall be lost. But we will do it and we will not be lost. What says Congress and the Executive?

From The Richmond Dispatch, Sept. 30.

The Yankee government has at last laid aside all disguise. Lincoln openly proclaims the abolition of slavery throughout the entire South, wherever a slave is held. The time for issuing this proclamation has been singularly well chosen. It is when the discharge of Pope's last officer has left our government, for the present, entirely without the means of retaliation. It is singularly consistent with the behavior of Lincoln when Pope's infamous proclamation was issued. That document was not sent forth until Lincoln had assured himself that the cartel either had been or would be signed.

For the proclamation itself, it does not in the least alter the character of the war. It has been an abolition contest from the beginning, and is no more an abolition contest now than it was at first. The Yankees have stolen and set free all the negroes who were willing to go, wherever their soldiers have had possession of the country. It is best for us, indeed, that the mask should be entirely laid aside, since our people, no longer deluded into the belief that their slave property will be respected, will be careful hereafter to remove it beyond the reach of danger. This document is merely curious, from the clear demonstration which it affords of the entire possession which the Abolition party has taken of the Federal government, and the utter prostration of the last remnant of what used with so much unction to be termed by the canting knaves of New England, "the bulwark of our liberties"—we mean that ridiculous old Constitution of the United States, which no party ever paid any attention to when they were strong enough to disregard it, and from which no party too weak to justify its position with the sword ever received the slightest protection. That the whole North will acquiesce in this last kick at the expiring Constitution cannot be doubted. Experience has proved that we have nothing to hope from any party in that quarter. Eager as they may be to cut each others throats, they are still more eager to cut ours, and to that pious work, we may be assured, they will devote themselves with all their energy. They are already calling for a million more of men, and the probability is that they will have them long before Christmas. We must make up our minds to meet these men, and to beat them, as we both can and will if they come here.

Take AYER'S SARSAPARILLA to purify the blood and purge out the humors, pimples, boils and sores which are merely emblems of the rottenness within.

Summary.

George D. Prentice, the editor of the Louisville *Journal*, has suffered a double affliction. His son was killed in the recent skirmish at Augusta, Kentucky, a Lieut.-Colonel in the rebel army.

A PROBLEM.—If it takes thirteen months for Gen. McClellan, at the head of the Federal army, to render Washington safe, at what period may the entire suppression of the rebellion be confidently looked for, under such leadership.—*Liberator.*

Joe Balding, a colored man, died in the Zanesville (Ohio) Infirmary, on the 11th ult., aged 121 years. He was a slave in Fairfax County, Virginia, in the days of Washington. He was 13 years of age at the time of Braddock's defeat in 1755. During his slave life, in accordance with the arrangements of his several masters, he had seven wives.

GEN. MILROY'S VIEWS.—In a speech at Wheeling, Va., October 1st, Gen. Milroy said he believed that slavery was the cause of this war. The cause of contention ought to be removed, and he was glad that the signs of the times looked to the accomplishment of this great object.

HOW TO BREAK THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY.—In conversation yesterday, a friend said to Mr. S. N. Pike, 'that the rebels would make use of the Opera House, if they should succeed in getting into Cincinnati. "Well," said Mr. Pike, "let them take it. If they rent it for one season, it will bankrupt the Confederacy, sure."—*Cincinnati Times.*

Lieut. Hiram B. Banks, killed in one of the late battles in Virginia, was a brother of Maj.-Gen. Banks, and a young man of great ability. He was connected with the Boston press several years ago, subsequently resided in Connecticut for some time, and was one of the most prominent and eloquent of the orators in that State during the last Presidential campaign. He was about thirty years of age.

A GOOD JOKE.—The editor of the Saratoga *Republican* tells the following at his own expense: "Yesterday, wishing, like others, to evince our patriotism, we informed the six compositors in our office that if they would enlist we would pay them half wages while they were gone to war. They replied, 'That is more than we have ever had before,' and the whole crowd enlisted. 'That's what's the matter.'"

BEECHER AND THE CITY RAILROADS.—Mr. Beecher was riding in one of the Brooklyn cars a short time since, doubtless thinking over the hard lot of the employees. He asked the conductor if he did not think the running of the cars might be dispensed with on the Sabbath. The conductor said he thought it could if it were not for Beecher. Beecher, he said, drew a big crowd to hear him every Sunday, and while there were so many half dimes to be picked up from his congregation there was no probability that the railroad company would relinquish so profitable a business.

MR. LINCOLN'S ESTIMATE OF THE REBELS.—Some one recently asked President Lincoln how many men the rebels had in the field. "Old Abe" looked serious, and replied, "Twelve hundred thousand, according to the best authority." The interrogator blanched in the face, and ejaculated: "My God!" "Yes, sir, twelve hundred thousand—no doubt of it. You see, all our Generals, when they get whipped, say the enemy outnumbers them from three to five to one, and I must believe them. We have four hundred thousand men in the field, and three times four make twelve. Don't you see it?" The interrogator felt considerably easier when he found how the rebels were proved to have such an overwhelming force.

THE SOLDIERS AND THE PROCLAMATION.—Of course the late proclamation of the President has been the subject of much discussion in the army—among both private soldiers and officers.

"God Bless Abraham Lincoln!" has been heard from hundreds of lips, even in the divisions which formerly belonged to the old Army of the Potomac. My blood fairly jumped in my veins and choked my heart last night, to hear that grand old song:

"John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave,
But his soul is marching on! marching on!"

sung by 2,000 strong lungs just formed into regiments from this loyal State of Maryland.

Who would have believed it? and yet it was so, and sung in the evening, in the main street of Williamsport, as the troops were marching through the city to do picket duty at the fords of the Potomac.—*Tribune's Maryland Correspondence.*

THE GROG RATION.—It is said that the principal reason that induced the Navy Department to abolish the grog ration was the intemperance of officers, of which it is a strong evidence that one hundred and seventy-one have been dismissed on account of intemperance within a year, and nearly as many more have been obliged to leave the service for causes that are traceable to intemperance.

It is well known that the whiskey ration in the Army of the Potomac, given in connection with quinine, adopted as a health measure, was soon abandoned, it having proved productive of a vast deal of harm and very little good. But the private messes of a large portion of the officers still have their supply of liquors, and more than one General, and how many lesser officers we dare not estimate, are addicted to their use to the injury of the service. If the War Department could keep grog from our armies, we should hear less of the incompetency of officers.—*N. Y. Chronicle.*

HAYTIAN EMIGRATION.—Mr. James Redpath, who has been so actively engaged as General Agent for the past year, in the Haytian emigration movement, announces in the *Pine and Palm* that his official connection with it has ceased, in consequence of a difference of views with the Haytian authorities as to the mode of management in the Island. He also announces the suspension of that journal, by order of the government of Hayti. Mr. George Lawrence, Jr., will continue for a time to act as the Chief of the New York Bureau, and all letters of inquiry respecting the movement should be addressed to him.

Mr. Redpath says that he counted confidently on 5,000 emigrants last spring, and would have had them, too, had the pioneer colonists sent home as favorable reports as he had a right to expect. He still believes "that the negro race, like the old Israelites, will be 'taken out' of this country, and led into fairer lands"; that "it will inherit the Tropics—the Canaan region of the New World"; that "all the West Indies will be exclusively possessed by it," which, in due time, "will inaugurate the millennium."—*Liberator.*

A SETTLER.—Some years since a black man called upon a clergyman in Western New York, avowed himself a fugitive slave, and asked for food and shelter, which were freely accorded. Two or three persons being cognizant of the fact, called to see the "runaway nigger," when the following interesting dialogue took place.

"S'pose you had plenty of hard times down South; licking a plenty?"

"No—never was whipped."

"Wa'nt! Well, you had to work most awful hard!"

"My work was light."

"I guess your clothes were not very nice?"

"I was well clothed—a good house servant."

"I reckon your victuals were not uncommon fine?"

"As good as I desired."

"Well, I should give it as my opinion that you were a mighty big fool for running away from such a place as that, just for the sake of shirking for yourself."

"Gentlemen, my place down South is vacant. Any of you can have it by applying for it."

JOHN JAY AND HIS DIOCESE.—In *The Independent's* account of the late meeting of the Episcopal Convention for New York, we find the following:

"Touching John Jay, there is a matter which has furnished a considerable amount of amusement at the expense of a certain country vestry. It must be understood that Mr. Jay has for about thirty years held the position of delegate from the parish of St. Matthew, Bedford. The other day the vestry passed a resolution to this effect: That out of respect for Mr. Jay's feelings, they had for a term of years annually elected him their delegate to the Convention, but that they could do it no longer, because he had *misrepresented the parish by introducing the slavery question.* At once, upon learning this fact, several other parishes offered to Mr. Jay the honor of an election to represent them; among these was a colored Church, and this last-named offer was accepted. In reply to the resolution, moreover, Mr. Jay wrote to the vestry a letter, the sharpness of which they will not soon forget. Really, one cannot help pausing for a moment to take breath after trying to grasp the stupendous folly of men who, at this time, of all others, deprecate an allusion to slavery in the council of a Church split in sunder by that cause and by no other."

TRACTS ON THE BATTLE-FIELD.—Very serious complaints are made that many of the volunteer nurses, instead of ministering to the bodily needs of the wounded soldiers, devote their attention to the condition of the soul. However useful religious instruction may be in general, it is not believed that the distribution of tracts to the fresh victims of a battle will be productive of as much benefit as the dressing of wounds, supply of necessary food, and alleviation of bodily suffering. Even the shrift of a dying soldier, accomplished with colportorial appliances, can hardly be recommended to take the place of those attentions which would ease the parting soul in its release, by assuaging the agonies of dissolution. In a late instance, a poor fellow in one of the hospitals seemed moved to mirth by the presentation of a tract on the sin of dancing; and upon inquiry as to the cause of such unseasonable hilarity, he drew up the coverlet and revealed the bandaged stumps of his limbs, from which both feet had been removed by amputation. Even his deplorable condition could not repress his sense of the ridiculous, at having advice forced upon him so utterly inappropriate to his unfortunate circumstances. Some of the hospitals, too, are embellished by the display of cheering advertisements, informing the patient who is trembling between two worlds, on what conditions the body he may leave or abandon can be embalmed and sent back to his friends.—*Wash. Cor. Times.*

SLAVERY IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY.—We have often called attention to the fact that by the peculiar system of management practised with the so-called civilizing efforts among the Indians west of Arkansas, slavery has been established there; but we never could get any exact information on the subject until the report of the census of 1860 brought it to hand. We give the figures:

Tribes.	*Slaves.*	*Owners.*
Choctaws,	2,297	385
Cherokees,	2,504	384
Creeks,	1,651	267
Chickasaws,	917	118
Total,	7,369	1,154

One of the Choctaw planters is the owner of 227 slaves, and ten of the largest planters of that tribe average 64 each. Among the Cherokees the largest planter owns 57 slaves, and the ten largest average 35 each. Among the Creeks two planters hold 75 each, and the ten largest average 44 each. Among the Chickasaws the largest planter owns 61 slaves, and the ten largest average 27½ each. Nor is this all. The strict prohibition provided for by the intercourse law does not seem to have been enforced at all against any but Northern people. The census gives detailed statistics showing that there are 1984 white people in the territory and 404 free colored persons. Of the whites 1310 are males and 674 females. They are settled in nearly every district in the territory, have established villages, and no doubt wield a preponderating influence in affairs. The free colored people are unquestionably those who accompany the white settlers. The Indian population of this territory is 65,680.—*Philadelphia American.*

Special Notices.

ANDREW T. FOSS, now in the State of Vermont, on behalf of the American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies, will lecture as follows:

BRAINTREE, Sunday, Oct. 12.
WEST RANDOLPH, Sunday evening, Oct. 12.
EAST BETHEL, Tuesday evening, Oct. 14.

Advertisements.

REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN.

LUCRETIA MOTT, MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN,
ABBY KELLEY FOSTER, LYDIA MARIA CHILD,
HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, LUCY STONE,
ANTOINETTE L. BROWN.

Those friends who have so long been desiring copies of the above group—executed in Grozelier's best style—can now be supplied, by sending their orders, enclosing One Dollar for each copy, which will ensure their being promptly mailed, and in perfect condition.

An early application is necessary, as the edition is very limited.

Also a few copies remaining of the original Grozelier Lithograph of William Lloyd Garrison. Price, including mailing, One Dollar.

WILLIAM C. NELL.
Anti-Slavery Rooms, 221 Washington st., Boston.

REMOVAL.—Dr. R. T. HALLOCK, *Eclectic and Homœopathic Physician*, has removed to No. 79 East Fifteenth street (New York). A few patients can be accommodated with rooms and board, and receive treatment from him or any other physician whom they may prefer.

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

EMANCIPATION.

BY WILLIAM E. FABOR.

Print the glad tidings in letters of gold;
And scatter it broadcast over the nation!
Ring, merry bells, while the story is told
In palace, in hovel, by fireside and fold
And over the prairie in gladness is rolled,
All in the dawn of the country's salvation.

Wind of the mountain and wind of the plain,
Bear on your bosom the Grand Proclamation!
Into the cane-brake drop it like rain!
Into the cotton-field, in the rice swamp,
Into the heart of the Enemy's Camp
Scatter the boon of Emancipation!

Waited for patiently, waited for long
All through the evil days, sorely and sadly;
Called for through trial and hoped for through wrong,
See! how the heart of the nation grows strong!
See! how the lips break in Thanksgiving song!
Never could tidings be welcomed more gladly.

These the glad tidings: the shackles shall fall,
The gyves from the wrists of slaves shall be broken!
In th' name of th' Nation, there's Freedom for all!
All through the length and the breadth of our land
Each in his Liberty equal shall stand
Blessing our Chief for the words he has spoken.

Harlem, N. Y., Oct. 2d, 1862.

THE STORY OF "HAM."

From Major Winthrop's "John Brent."

[John Brent, Sir Biron Biddulph (an English baronet) and Richard Wade (who tells the story) are returning across the plains from California, when they meet with "Ham" under the following circumstances.]

WINTER chased us close. It was full December when the plains left us, fell back, and beached us upon the outer edge of civilization, at Independence, Missouri.

The muddy Missouri was running dregs. Steamboats were tired of skipping from sand-bar to sand-bar. Engineer had reported to Captain, that "Kangaroo, No. 5, would bust, if he didn't stop trying to make her lift herself over the damp country by her braces." No more steamboating on the yellow ditch till there was a rise; until the Platte sent down sand three and water one, or the Yellowstone mud three and water one, or the Missouri proper grit three and water one. We must travel by land to St. Louis and railroads.

We could go with our horses as fast as the stage-coaches. So we sold our pack beasts and continued our gallop of three across Missouri.

Half-way across, we stopped one evening at the mean best tavern in a mean town—a frowzy country town, with a dusty public square, a boxy church and a spitty court-house.

Fit entertainment for beast the tavern offered.

We saw our horses stabled and had our supper.

"Shall we go into the spittoon?" said Biddulph.

"Certainly," said Brent. "The bar-room—I am sorry to hear you speak of it with foreign prejudice—is an institution, and merits study. Argee, upon which the bar-room is based, is also an institution."

"Well I came to study American institutions. Let us go in and take a whiff of disgust."

Fit entertainment for brute the bar-room offered. In that "club-room" we found the brute class drinking, swearing, spitting, squabbling over the price of hemp and the price of "niggers" and talking what it called "politics."

One tall, truculent Pike, the loudest of all that blatant crew, seemed to Brent and myself an old acquaintance. We had seen him or his double somewhere. But neither of us could fit him with a pedestal in our long gallery of memory. Saints one takes pains to remember, and their scenes; but satyrs one endeavors to lose.

"Have you had enough of the spittoon?" I asked Biddulph. "Shall we go up? They've put us all three in the same room; but bivouacs in the same big room—Out-Doors—are what we are best used to."

Two and a-half beds, one broken-backed chair, a washstand decked with an ancient-fringed towel and an abandoned tooth-brush, one torn slipper, and a stove-pipe hole, furnished our bed-chamber.

We were about to cast lots for the half-bed, when we heard two men enter the next room. The partition was only paper pasted over lath, and cut up as if a Border-Ruffian member of Congress had practised at it with a bowie-knife before a street-fight. Every word of our neighbors came to us. They were talking of a slave bargain. I eliminate their oaths, though such filtration does them injustice.

"Eight hundred dollars," said the first speaker, and his voice startled us as if a dead man we knew had spoken. "Eight hundred—that's the top of my pile for that boy. Ef he warn't so old and hadn't one eye poked out, I agree he'd be wuth a heap more."

"Waal a trade's a trade. I'll take yer stump. Count out yer dimes, and I'll fill out a blank bill of sale. Murker, the boy's your'n."

"Murker"! We started at the name. This was the satyr we had observed in the bar-room. Had Fulano's victim crept from under his cairn in Luggernal Alley, and chased us to take flesh here and harm us again. (Fulano, Wade's horse, had trampled to death a villain of that name who attacked them on the Plains.)

The likeness, look, voice and name were presently accounted for.

"You're looking for your brother out from Sacramenter 'bout now, I reckon," said the trader.

"He war comin' cross lots with a man named Larrup, a pardener of his'n. Like enough they've stayed over winter in Salt Lake. They oughter rake down a most mountainous pile thar."

"Mormons is flush and sassy with their dimes sence the emigration. Now thar's yer bill of sale, all right."

"And thar's yer money, all right."

"That are's wut I call a screechin' good price for an old, one-eyed nigger. Fourteen hundred dollars—an all-fired price."

"Eight hundred, you mean."

"No; fourteen. Yer see yer not up ter taime on the nigger question. *I* know 'em like a church-steeple. When I bought that are boy, now comin' three year, I seed he wuz a sprightly nigger, one er yer ambitious sort, what would be mighty apt to git fractious, an' he makin' tracks, onless I got a holt on him. So, sez I to him, 'Ham, you're a sprightly nigger, one of the real ambitious sort, now aincher?' He allowed he warn't nothin' else. 'Waal,' sez I, 'Ham, how'd you like to buy yerself, an' be a free nigger, an' hev a house of yer own, an' a woman of yer own, all jess like white folks?' 'Lor',' sez he, 'Massa, I'd like it a heap.' 'Waal,' sez I, 'you jess scrabble round an' raise me seven hunderd dollars an' I'll sell you to yerself, and cheap at that.' So yer see he begun to pay up, an' I got a holt on him. He's a handy nigger, an' a likely nigger, an' a pop'ler nigger. He kin play on the fiddle like taime—pooty nigh a minstril is that are nigger. He kin cut hair, and fry a beefsteak with ary man. He kin drive team, an' do a little jiner work, an' shoe a mule when thar ain't no reg'lar blacksmith round. He made these yer boots, an' reg'lar stompers they is. He's one of them chirrupy, smilin' niggers, with white teeth and *genteel* manners, what critters and foaks nat'rally takes to. Waal, he picked up the bits an' quarters right smart. He's been at it, hummin' ahead raal ambitious, for 'bout three year. Last Sunday, after church, he pinted up the last ten of the six hundred. So I allowed t'wus come time to sell him. He wus gettin' his head drawed, an' his idees set on freedom very onhealthy. I didn't like to disap'int him to the last, so I allowed 'twas jess as well to let you hev him cheap to go down river. That's how to work them fractious runaway niggers. That are's my patent. You kin hev it for nothin'. Haw! haw!"

"Haw! haw! haw! You are one of ther boys! I'm dum sorry that are trick can't be did twicet on the same nigger. I reckon he knows too much for that."

"Waal, s'pose we walk round to the calaboose, 'fore we go to bed, an' see ef he's chained up all right."

They went out.

Biddulph spoke first.

"Shame!"

"Yes," said Brent, "do you wonder that we have to run away to the Rockys and spend our indignation on grizzlys?"

"What are we going to do now?"

"Try to abolish slavery in Ham's case. Come; we'll go buy him a file."

"We seem to have business with the Murker family," said I.

"A hard lot they are. Representative brutes!"

"I am getting a knowledge of all classes on your continent," said Biddulph. "Some I like better than others!"

"Don't be too harsh on us malcontents for the sin of slavery. It is an ancestral taint. We shall burn it out before many decades."

"*You had better, or it will set your own house on fire.*" (1859-60)

It was late as we walked along the streets, channels of fever and ague now frozen up for the winter. We saw a light through a shop-door, and hammered stoutly for admission.

A clerk, long-haired and frowzy, opened ungraciously.

In the back shop were three men, also long-haired and frowzy, dealing cards and drinking a dark compost from tumblers.

"*Port wine,*" whispered Brent. "Fine old London Dock Port is the favorite beverage, when the editor, the lawyer, the apothecary, and the merchant meet to play euchre in Missouri."

We bought our files from the surly clerk, and made for the calaboose. It was a stout log structure with grated windows. At one of these, by the low moonlight, we saw a negro. It was cold and late. Nobody was near. We hailed the man.

"Ham."

"That's me, massa."

"You're sold to Murker, to go south to-morrow. If you want to get free, catch!"

Brent tossed him up the files.

"Catch again," said Biddulph, and up went a rattling purse, England's subsidy.

Ham's white teeth and *genteel* manners appeared at once. He grinned and whispered thanks.

"Is that all that we can do?" asked the Baronet, as we walked off.

"Yes," said Brent, taking a nasal tone.

"Ham's a pop'lar nigger, a handy nigger, one er yer raal ambitious sort. He ken cut hair, fry a beef-steak, and play on the fiddle like a minstril. He ken shoe a mule, drive a team, do a little jiner work, and make stompers. Yes, Biddulph, trust him to gnaw himself free with that Connecticut rat-tail."

"Ham against Japhet; I hope he'll win."

"Now," said Brent, "that we've put in action Christ's Golden Rule, Jefferson's Declaration of Independence, and all-the-wisdom's Preamble to the Constitution, we can sleep the sleep of well-doers, if we have two man-stealers—and one the brother of a murderer—only papered off from us."

(The following morning they resume their journey.)

The day, after the crisp frostiness of its beginning, was a belated day of Indian summer; mild as the golden mornings of that calm, luxurious time. We stopped to noon in a sunny spot of open pasture near a wide, muddy slough of the Missouri. This reservoir for the brewage of shades for Pikes had been refilled in some autumn rise of the river, and lay a great stagnant lake along the roadside, a mile or so long, two hundred yards broad.

We camped by a fallen cottonwood near the slough. The atmosphere was hopeful. We picknicked merrily, men and beasts. "Three gentlemen at once" over a chicken soon dissipated this and its trimmings. We lighted the tranquil calumet, and lounged, watching our horses at their corn.

Presently we began to fancy we heard, then to think we heard, at last to be sure we heard the baying of hounds through the mild, golden air.

"Tally-ho," cried Biddulph, "what a day for a fox-hunt! This haze will make the scent lie almost as well as the clouds."

"Music! music!" cried he again, springing up, as the sound, increasing, rose and fell along the peaceful air that lay on earth so lovingly.

"Music, if it were in merrie England, where the hunt are gentlemen. A cursed uproar here, where the hunt are men-stealers," said Brent.

"No," said Biddulph. "Those are fables of the old, barbarous days of the Maroons. I can't believe in dogs after men until I see it."

"I'm afraid its our friend Ham they are after. This would be his line of escape."

At the word, a rustling in the bushes along the slough, and Ham burst through. He turned to run. We shouted. He knew us, and flung himself, lurid with terror, and panting with flight on the ground at our feet—"the pop'lar nigger"!

"O, massa," he gasped. "Dey's gone sot de dogs on me. What'll I do!"

"Can you swim?" said I; for to me he was kneeling.

"No, massa; or I'de been across this yer sloo fore dis."

"Can you ride?"

"Reck'n I kin, massa."

A burst of baying from the hounds.

The black shook with terror.

I sprang to Fulano. "Work for you, old boy!" said I to him, as I flung the saddle over his head.

"Take mine!" said my two friends at a breath.

"No; Fulano understands this business. Chase or flight, all one to him, so he baffles the brutes."

Fulano neighed and beat the ground with eager hoofs as I buckled the bridle.

"Can't we show fight," said Biddulph.

"There'll be a dozen on the hunt. It is one of the entertainments hereabouts. Besides they would raise the posse on us. You forget we're in a slave State, an enemy's country."

I led Fulano to the brink. He stood motionless, eyeing me, just as he eyed me in that terrible pause in Luggernel Alley.

"Here, Ham, up with you! Put across the slough. He swims like an alligator. Then make for the north star, and leave the horse for Mr. Richard Wade at the Tremont House, Chicago. Treat him like a brother, Ham!"

"Lor bress you, massa! I will dat."

He vaulted up, "like a sprightly nigger," one of the raal ambitious sort.

The baying came nearer, nearer, ringing sweetly through the golden quiet of noon.

I launched Fulano with an urgent whisper. Two hundred yards to swim, and then all clear to freedom!

Fulano splashed in and took deep water magnificently.

What a sight it is to see a noble horse nobly breast the flood—to see his shoulders thrust aside the stream, his breath come quick, his eyes flash, his haunches lift, his wake widen after him!

And then—Act 2—how grand it is to see him paw and struggle up with might and main upon the farther bank—to see him rise, all glossy and reeking, shake himself, and with a snort go galloping free and away! Aha! a sight to be seen!

We stood watching—Act 1. The fugitive was half-way across. The baying came closer, closer on his trail.

Two-thirds across.

The baying ceased. The whole pack drew a long wail.

"They see him," said Biddulph.

Almost across! A dozen more plunges, Fulano! A crowd of armed men on horseback dashed up to the bank two hundred yards above us. It was open where they halted. They could not see us among the bushes on the edge of the slough. One of them—it was Murker—sprang from his saddle. He pointed his rifle quick and steady. Horse and man, the fugitives were close to the bank and the thicket of safety.

Ping!

Almost over, as the rifle cracked, Ham had turned at the sound of his pursuers crashing through the bushes. Fulano swam high. He bore a proud head aloft, conscious of his brave duty. It was but a moment since he had dashed away, and the long lines of his wake still rippled against the hither bank.

We heard the bullet sing. It missed the man as he turned. It struck Fulano. Blood spirted from a great artery. He floundered forward. Ham caught the bushes on the bank, pulled himself ashore, and clutched for the bridle.

Poor Fulano! He flung his head up and pawed the surface with a great spasm. He screamed a death-scream, like that terrible cry of anguish of his comrade martyred in the old heroic cause in Luggernel Alley. We could see his agonized eye turn back in the socket, sending towards us a glance of farewell.

Noble horse! again a savior. He yielded and sank slowly away into that base ditch.

But Ham, was he safe? He had disappeared in the thicket. His pursuers called the hounds, and galloped off to chase him round the slough.

Ham *was* safe. He got off to freedom. From his refuge he writes to me that he is "pop'lar"; "that he has sot up a Livery Instituotion, and has a most beautiful black colt a growin' up for me." Ham was saved; but Fulano gone. Dead by Murker's rifle. The brother had strangely avenged his brother, trampled to death in the far-away cañon of the Rocky Mountains.

THE ASSOCIATION OF IDEAS.—Sir Benjamin Brodie relates the following as an instance of the curious effects produced by the association of ideas. When I was about fifteen years of age, I went with my father and mother and other friends, on a tour through Somersetshire; and having arrived at Wellington, where I had certainly never been before, we tarried an hour or two at the "Squirrel" inn for refreshments. On entering the room where the rest of the party were assembled, I found myself suddenly surprised and pursued by a pack of strange, shadowy, infantile images, too vague to be called recollections, too distinct and persevering to be dismissed as phantasms. Whichever way I turned my eyes, faint and imperfect pictures of persons once familiar to my childhood, and feeble outlines of events long passed, came crowding around me, and vanishing again in rapid and fitful succession. I felt assured that all this was not a mere trick of the imagination. It seemed to me rather that enfeebled memory was, by some sudden impulse, set actively at work, endeavoring to recall the forms of past realities, long overlaid, and almost lost behind the throng of subsequent events. My uneasiness was noticed by my mother; and when I had described my sensations, the whole mystery was speedily solved by the discovery that the pattern of the wall-paper in the room where we were seated, was exactly similar to that of my nursery in Paddington, which I had never seen since I was between four and five years of age. I did not immediately remember the paper, but I was soon satisfied that it was indeed the medium of association through which all those ill-defined half-faded forms had travelled up to light; my nurse and nursery events associated with that paper pattern being, after all, but very faintly pictured on the field of my remembrance.

HYMN TO THE FLOWERS.

Day stars! that ope your eyes with man, to twinkle,
From rainbow galaxies of earth's creation,
And dew-drops on her lonely altars sprinkle,
As a libation—

Ye matin worshippers! who, bending lowly,
Before th' uprisen sun, God's lidless eye,
Throw from your chalices a sweet and holy
Incense on high!

Ye bright Mosaics! that with storied beauty,
The floor of Nature's temple tesselate,
What num'rous emblems of instructive duty,
Your forms create!

'Neath clustered boughs, each floral bell that swingeth,
And tolls its perfume on the passing air,
Makes Sabbath in the fields, and ever ringeth,
A call to prayer!

Not to the domes, where crumbling arch and column,
Attest the feebleness of mortal hand;
But to that fane most catholic and solemn,
Which God hath planned

To that cathedral, boundless as our wonder,
Whose quenchless lamps the sun and moon supply,
Its choir the winds and waves—its organ thunder—
Its dome the sky!

There, as in solitude and shade I wander,
Through the green aisles, or stretched upon the sod,
Awed by the silence, reverently ponder
The ways of God—

Your voiceless lips, O flowers, are living preachers,
Each cup a pulpit, every leaf a book,
Supplying to my fancy numerous teachers,
From loneliest nook.

Floral apostles! that in dewy splendor,
"Weep without woe, and blush without a crime,"
O! may I deeply learn and ne'er surrender
Your lore sublime!

"Thou wert not, Solomon, in all thy glory,
Arrayed," the lilies cry, "in robes like ours;
How vain your grandeur!—ah! how transitory
Are human flowers!"

In the sweet scented pictures, Heavenly Artist!
With which thou paintest nature's wide-spread hall,
What a delightful lesson thou impartest,
Of love to all!

Not useless are ye, flowers, though made for pleasure,
Blooming o'er field and wave, by day and night;
From every source your sanction bids me treasure
Harmless delight!

Ephemeral sages! what instructors hoary,
For such a world of thought could furnish scope?
Each fading calyx a memento mori,
Yet fount of hope!

Posthumous glories! angel-like collection,
Upraised from seed or bulb interred in earth,
Ye are to me a type of resurrection,
And second birth!

Were I, O God! in churchless lands remaining,
Far from all voice of teachers and divines
My soul would find, in flowers of thy ordaining
Priests, sermons, shrines!

HORACE SMITH.

CONFESSION OF A STUDENT.

I HAVE just passed the "grand climacteric" of life, and have lived these sixty-three years as a semi-recluse. My father had money enough to supply all my wants, because all my wants were comprised in one word—*books*.

In a large and retired family, I was my father's favorite daughter, and he allowed me to become a book-eater. I read every new publication of interest that my time would allow, and all my time was my own. I permitted no one to direct or hinder me, and cared not who criticized me. I rambled much among the libraries of my favorites, Philadelphia and New Haven, but visited so few friends, and worked so little for the poor, and watched so little with the sick, that my life was one breathless chase after mere mental self-sustenance. As a woman, I suppose I have a heart, but my intellect seems to have eaten it up. Scholarship has been my idolatry, not so much for the fame of it as for its agreeable self-absorption. My first ambition was languages, and I tried Latin, Greek, French, Russian, German and Italian. I have read some of their historians and poets. Dante's Inferno, Milton's Paradise Lost, and Shakspeare's Tempest, I nearly committed to memory. For the last forty years it has been my habit to run over the best articles in *The Edinburg Review* and London *Times*. Of my own countrymen, I prefer Prescott, Bryant, and Longfellow; and of our female authors, I most relish Mrs. Stowe and Miss Sedgewick.

I do now with grief confess that I have been a gormandizer of books. It seems as if I am now a mere conglomerate, *wholly made up of others*. I am, they. I wonder if any of my original personal identity is left! I am afraid that in another world each author who has enriched my mind will come and take from me what he gave, and thus leave me poor indeed! Perhaps they all would say, "Why did you not do unto others as we did to you? Could you not find any ignorant and necessitous whom you could benefit? What apology have you to offer to the ten thousand uncultivated whom you could have enlightened?"

From my inmost heart I cannot help feeling that the condemnation of your sermon fell upon me here. *He who receives is bound, in his time and measure, to give.* This maxim is common sense, Christian politics, and gospel truth, binding on every grade of ability. You quote that sacred (yet to me damning) text (Prov. iii. 27), "Withhold not good from them to whom it is due, when it is in the power of thy hand to do it." For more than fifty years I have horded knowledge with a miser's greed, and during that time have distributed next to nothing to the necessities of the ignorant or the young! I have never written or published a review of any book I ever read! I have passed a life of intense intellectual selfishness; and now I feel that my accumulations are so many witnesses against me. In my abysmal mortification and regret, I begin to rank myself among the first-class pirates! In the beginning of my course I acted from the worthy desire of improving my mind and increasing my happiness. The intellectual appetite strengthened every time it was gratified; and the more I hungered, the more I ate, forgetting, alas! that the whole of life does not consist in eating.

Oh! it is a mistake, an awful mistake, an inexcusable mistake, *to live for ones self*. Nature's doctrine and the gospel's doctrine is, "Be ready to distribute, willing to communicate." The lake that turns the mill-wheel keeps healthy by its outlettings. I have denied myself through life the happiness of giving. I cannot now excuse myself for not translating and publishing some of the noble works which have appeared in Germany and Russia and France, or for not taking the place of head in some female college, or orphan charitable society, or city mission. I now think of half a dozen ways in which my talents and attainments might have been employed to strengthen the risen and mold the rising generation; yet, woe is me I have neglected them all.

It is with neutest heart-pain that I have written the above. I write thus not to ask your advice or your opinion. I need neither. I write that I may warn every young lady throughout my country *not to do as I have done*. My young sisters, choose some department in human life according to your talents and taste, and then study and labor for its advancement in knowledge, virtue and happiness; *thus you will live best for yourselves by living most out of yourselves.*

WHO IS OLD?—A wise man will never rust out. As long as he can move and breathe, he will do something for himself, his neighbor, or for posterity. Almost to the last hour of his life, Washington was at work. So were Franklin and Young, Howard and Newton. The vigor of their lives never decayed. No rust marred their spirits. It is a foolish idea to suppose that we must lie down and die because we are old. Who is old? Not the man of energy; not the day-laborer in science, art or benevolence; but he only who suffers his energies to waste away and the springs of life to become motionless; on whose hands the hours drag heavily, to whom all things wear the garb of gloom. Is he old? is he active? can he breathe freely and move with agility? There are scores of gray-headed men we should prefer, in any important enterprise, to those young gentlemen who fear and tremble at approaching shadows, and turn pale, as at a lion in their path, at a harsh word or a frown.

MR. THOREAU, in a very fine article in *The Atlantic Monthly*, on "Autumnal Tints," speaking of the different ways in which the same scenes will be viewed by people of different tastes, says: "Take a New England selectman, and set him on the highest of our hills, and tell him to look, sharpening his sight to the utmost, and putting on the glasses that suit him best (ay, using a spy-glass, if he likes), and make a full report. What, probably, will he *spy*?—what will he *select* to look at? Of course, he will see a Brocken spector of himself. He will see several meeting-houses, at least, and perhaps, that somebody ought to be assessed higher than he is, since he has so handsome a wood-lot. Now take Julius Cæsar, or Immanuel Swedenborg, or a Fejee Islander, and set him up there. Or suppose all together, and let them compare notes afterward. Will it appear that they have enjoyed the same prospect? What they will see will be as different as Rome was from heaven or hell, or the last from the Fejee Islands."

THE MARVELS OF A SEED.

HAVE you ever considered how wonderful a thing the seed of a plant is? It is a miracle. God said: "Let there be plants yielding seed," and it is further added, "each one after his kind."

The great naturalist Cuvier, thought that the germs of all past, present and future generations of seed were contained one within the other, as if packed in a succession of boxes. Other learned men have explained this mystery in a different way. But what signify all their explanations? Let them explain it as they will, the wonder remains the same, and we must look upon the reproduction of the seed as a continual miracle.

Is there upon earth a machine, is there a place, is there even a city, which contains so much that is wonderful as is enclosed in a single little seed—one grain of corn, one little, brown apple seed, one small seed of a tree, picked up, perhaps, by a sparrow for her little ones, the smallest of a poppy or a blue-bell, or even one of the seeds that are so small that they float about the air invisible to our eyes? Ah! there is a world of marvel and brilliant beauties hidden in each of these tiny seeds. Consider their immense number, the perfect separation of the different kinds, their power of life and resurrection, and their wonderful fruitfulness.

Consider first their number. About a hundred and fifty years ago, the celebrated Linnæus, who has been called "the father of botany," reckoned about 8,000 different kinds of plants; and he then thought that the whole number existing could not much exceed 10,000. But one hundred years after him, M. de Candolle, of Geneva, described 40,000 kinds of plants, and supposed it possible that the number might even amount to 100,000.

Well, let me ask you, have these 100,000 kinds of plants ever failed to bear the right seed? Have they ever deceived us? Has seed of wheat ever yielded barley, or a seed of poppy grown up into a sunflower? Has a sycamore tree ever sprung from an acorn, or a beech tree from a chestnut? A little bird may carry away the small seed of a sycamore in its beak to feed its nestlings, and on the way may drop it on the ground. The tiny seed may spring up and grow where it fell, unnoticed, and sixty years after it may become a magnificent tree, under which the flocks of the valley and their shepherds may rest in the shade.

Consider next the wonderful power of life and resurrection bestowed on the seeds of plants, so that they may be preserved from year to year, and even from century to century.

Let a child put a few seeds in a drawer and shut them up, and sixty years afterwards, when his hair is white and his steps tottering, let him take one of these seeds and sow it in the ground, and soon after he will see it spring up into new life, and become a young, fresh and beautiful plant.

M. Jouannet relates that in the year 1835 several old Celtic tombs were discovered near Bergerac. Under the head of each of the dead bodies there was found a small, square stone or brick, with a hole in each, containing a few seeds, which had been placed there beside the dead by the heathen friends, who had buried them perhaps 1500 or 1700 years before. These seeds were carefully sowed by those who found them. What was seen to spring from the dust of the dead? Beautiful sun-flowers, blue corn flowers and clover bearing blossoms as bright and sweet as those which are woven into wreaths by the merry children now playing in our fields.

Some years ago, a vase, hermetically sealed, was found in a mummy-pit in Egypt by the English traveller, Wilkinson, who sent it to the British Museum. The librarian there, having unfortunately broken it, discovered in it a few grains of wheat and one or two peas, old, wrinkled and as hard as a stone. The peas were planted carefully under glass on the 4th of June, 1844, and at the end of thirty days these seeds were seen to spring up into new life. They had been buried probably about 3,000 years ago, perhaps in the time of Moses, and had slept all that long time, apparently dead, yet still living in the dust of the tomb.—*Lectures by Prof. Gaussen, of Switzerland*

SUBMISSION.

This stern necessity of things
On every side our being rings;
Our eager aims, still questing round,
Find exit none from that great bound.
Where once her law dictates the way,
The wise think only to obey,
Take life as she has ordered it,
And, come what may of it, submit,
Submit, submit!

Who take implicitly her will,
For these her vassal chances still
Bring store of joys, successes, pleasures;
But whoso ponders, weighs, and measures,
She calls her torturers up to goad
With spur and scourges on the road.
O, lest you yield not tamely, ere
Her lips that mandate pass, beware!
Beware, beware!

Necessity! and who shall dare
Bring to her feet excuse or prayer?
Howe'er we turn, and pause, and tremble,
Howe'er we shrink, deceive, dissemble,
Whate'er our doubting, grief, disgust,
The hand is on us, and we must;
We must, we must.
'Tis common sense, and human wit
Can find no better name than it.
Submit, submit!

ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH.

WHAT IS A LADY.—A great deal of argument is going the rounds respecting the title of lady and the name of woman. The expression "Lady" is so much abused, that I infinitely prefer the sweet, unpretending title of woman. If we could but sift the chaff from the wheat, abrogate all the self-styled "ladies," there could be no objecting to the title; but ministers of grace defend us from some ladies of the present day, who do not even know why a woman should be so called. A lady must possess perfect refinement and intelligence. She must be gracious, affable, and hospitable, without the slightest degree of fussiness. She must be a Christian, mild, gentle, and charitable, unostentatious, and doing good by stealth. She must be deaf to scandal and gossip. She must possess discrimination, knowledge of human nature, and tact sufficient to avoid offending one's weak points, steering wide of all subjects which may be disagreeable to any one. She must look upon personal cleanliness and freshness of attire next to godliness. Her dress must be in accordance with her means, not flashy. Abhorring everything like soiled or faded finery, or mock jewelry, her pure mind and clear conscience will cause the foot of time to pass as lightly over the smooth brow as if she stepped on the flowers, and, as she moves with quiet grace and dignity, all will accord her instinctively the title of lady. If I had time and your patience, I could present the other view of the case, looking upon this picture and upon that. But when one constantly comes in contact, in omnibuses, cars, stores, the promenade, places of public amusement, wherever women are generally found, with those who loudly arrogate to themselves the contested title, can you wonder at the disgust it produces?

LAMARTINE'S ABSTRACT WOMAN.—Lamartine thus describes her: "Woman, with weaker passions than man, is superior to him in soul. The Gauls attributed to her an additional sense—the divine sense. They were right; nature has given women to painful heavenly gifts which distinguish them, and often raise them above human nature—compassion and enthusiasm. By compassion they devote themselves, by enthusiasm they exalt themselves. What more does heroism require? They have more heart and more imagination than man. Enthusiasm springs from the imagination, and self-sacrifice from the heart; women are, therefore, more naturally heroic than men. All nations have in their annals some of those miracles of patriotism of which woman is the instrument in the hand of God. When all is desperate in a national cause, we need not despair while there remains a spark of resistance in a woman's heart, whether she is called Judith, Clelia, Joan of Arc, Victoria, Colonna in Italy, or Charlotte Corday, in our own day. God forbid that I compare those that I cited. Judith and Charlotte Corday sacrificed themselves, but their sacrifice did not recoil at crime. Their inspiration was heroic, but their heroism mistook its aim; it took the poniard of the assassin instead of the sword of the hero. Joan of Arc used only the sword of defence; she was not merely inspired by heroism, she was inspired by God."

SINGING BY YOUNG WOMEN.—It was the opinion of Dr. Rush, that singing by young ladies, whom the customs of society debar from many other kinds of salubrious exercise, ought to be cultivated not only as an accomplishment, but as the means of preserving health. He particularly insists that vocal music should never be neglected in the education of a young lady, and states that besides its solitary operation in soothing the cares of domestic life, it has a still more direct and important effect. In his remarks on this subject, the doctor introduces a fact which was suggested to him by his professional experience, which is, that the exercise of the chest by singing contributes very much to defend them from the diseases to which the climate and other causes expose them. The Germans, he continues, are seldom afflicted with consumption, nor has he ever known more than one instance of spitting blood among them. This, he believes, is in part occasioned by the strength which their lungs acquire by exercising them frequently in vocal music, which constitutes an essential branch of their education.

THE GOOD GREAT MAN.

"How seldom, friend, a good great man inherits
Honor and wealth, with all his worth and pains!
It seems a story from the world of spirits,
When any man obtains that which he merits,
Or any merits that which he obtains."
For shame, my friend—renounce this idle strain!
What would thou have a good great man obtain?
Wealth, title, dignity, a golden chain,
Or heaps of corses which his sword has slain?
Goodness and greatness are not means, but ends.
Hath he not always treasures, always friends,
The good great man? Three treasures—love and light,
And calm thoughts, equable as infant's breath;
And three fast friends, more sure than day or night—
Himself, his Maker, and the Angel Death.

S. T. COLERIDGE.

RANDOLPH OF ROANOKE AT COURT.

THE "Life and Letters of Washington Irving," by his nephew, furnishes the following anecdote of the eccentric John Randolph, of Roanoke, in connection with his presentation at the Court of St. James:

"Mr. McLane and Mr. Irving called for him in a carriage, and they found him prepared to accompany them, with black coat and black small clothes, with knee buckles, a sword and a little black hat. They looked wonderingly at his dress, so likely with his odd figure to attract observation. He pointed to his gold buckles. 'No sham about them. Randell and Bridge, by —!' To some observation as to the propriety of his dress, 'I wear no man's livery, by —!' 'But,' said Mr. Irving, 'the object of a court costume is to avoid awkwardness and challenge; there is a convenience in it; and at all events you don't want a sword.' 'Oh, now, Irving, as to a sword, you need not pretend to teach me about that; my father wore a sword before me, by —!' Mr. Irving explained that the sword belonged to a different costume, but was out of place in that dress. This seemed to strike Randolph, and he unbuckled his sword afterwards and left it in the carriage. As he was about to enter the ante-chamber, where the foreign ministers were in waiting, he was, as Mr. Irving had feared, stopped by the usher. Mr. Irving immediately explained who he was, and he was permitted to pass. 'There now, Randolph,' said he, 'you see one of the inconveniences of being out of costume.' In the ante-chamber the foreign ministers eyed him curiously. Admitted to the presence chamber he preceded Mr. Irving, made his bow to royalty in his turn and then passed before other members of the royal family. As he went by the Duke of Sussex the latter beckoned Mr. Irving. 'Irving,' said he, with his thumb reversed over his right shoulder, and moving it significantly up and down, half suppressing a laugh at the same time, 'who is your friend, Hokey Pokey?' Mr. Irving, jealous for the honor of his country, replied with emphasis, 'That, sir, is John Randolph, United States Minister at Russia, and one of the most distinguished orators of the United States.' Some time afterwards, Mr. Irving was dining with the Duke of Sussex, and he inquired after McLane, who had returned to his own country; then, pursuing his inquiries, he added, with a significant smile, 'and how is our friend, Hokey Pokey?'"

THE GETTING UP OF NOVELS.—They say that all the works bearing Dumas's name are not written by him. Well? Does not the chief cook have *aides* under him? Did not Ruben's pupils paint on his canvasses? Had not Lawrence assistants for his backgrounds? For myself, being also *du metier*, I confess I would often like to have a competent, respectable, and rapid clerk for the business part of my novels. There is a great deal of carpenter's and joiner's work in novels which surely a smart professional hand might supply. A smart professional hand? I give you my word, there seem to me parts of novels—let us say the love-making, "the business," the villain in the cupboard, and so forth, which I should like to order John Footman to take in hand, as I desire him to bring the coals and polish the boots. Ask me to pop a robber under a bed, to hide a will which shall be forthcoming in due season, or at my time of life to write a namby-pamby love conversation between Emily and Lord Arthur! I feel ashamed of myself, and especially when my business compels me to do the love passages, I blush so, though quite alone in my study, that you would fancy I was going off in apoplexy.—*Mr. Thackeray, in The Cornhill Magazine.*

NOVEL MODE OF SMUGGLING.—A watchmaker of Alencon, France, having lately offered some Swiss watches at exceedingly low prices, was asked how he could afford to sell them so cheap. "Oh, that is simple enough," he replied; "I bought them of a wild beast showman who had just come from Switzerland. Before leaving Geneva he purchased a quantity of watches, which he concealed under the litter of his lion's cage. It is hardly necessary to mention," added the scrupulous watchmaker, "that the custom house officers at the frontier did not venture to search there for contraband goods."—*London Express.*

AN Editor says that the only reason why his house was not blown away during the late gale was because there was a heavy mortgage upon it.

ANY view of God, of which Love is not the centre, is injurious to the soul which receives it.—*Channing.*

Foreign Gleanings.

—THE Story of Elizabeth," just commenced in *The Cornhill Magazine*, is said to be by Miss Thackeray, one of the two daughters of the great novelist.

——Mr. Story's two statues of the Sybil and Cleopatra have both been sold at the London Exhibition. The terms are unusually high. £1 500 was offered and refused for one statue alone.

——A tremendous waterspout burst over the city of Barcelona, Spain, lately, transforming the streets into torrents, in which many of the inhabitants were compelled to swim for their lives.

——A motion, praying the British government to recognize the "Southern Confederacy," was lately made in the Montrose Town Council, but after a brief discussion the subject was laid aside.

——A communication from Cochin, China, says that the cotton plant grows spontaneously in that country, and that consequently France may find there a sufficient quantity of the staple to render her independent of any foreign supply.

——M. Horace Vernet has just arrived in Paris from his *château* at the isle of Hyères. M. Vernet was born in the year 1789, and is consequently now in his seventy-third year, but is still as active and erect as a young man.

——The essays of the late Mr. Buckle are about to be collected and published in a volume. It is said that the unpublished essays relate more exclusively to political economy than their authors great work on the "History of Civilization."

——Recently an old Irishman and his wife were standing on the pier at the Great Western Docks, Plymouth, apparently for the purpose of taking passage in one of the Cork company's steamboats, when the old man suddenly pushed his wife off the pier, and then jumped into the water himself. The woman fell into a boat and escaped with a few bruises, and the man was rescued by some workmen. The old couple had only arrived from Cork about a fortnight since.

——LORD PALMERSTON AND HIS SMOKING CAP.—During Lord Palmerston's stay in Nottingham last week, a number of ladies connected with a bazaar held for the benefit of the funds of St. Matthew's Church, Nottingham, presented his lordship with a handsome smoking cap made of scarlet and blue silk velvet, richly embroidered with gold, in acknowledgment of the receipt of which his lordship wrote as follows: "Lord Palmerston presents his compliments to the ladies conducting the Nottingham Bazaar, and while returning to them his thanks for the beautiful cap which they were so good as to send him, encloses a draft for his contribution to their bazaar." The enclosure was a check for £5.

——A letter from Vichy of the 16th says: "Napoleon III. is going through the same aqueous *regime* as the ordinary bathers and water-drinkers. His Majesty is up early, and may be seen at the Grand Grille taking his two or three glasses with a familiar group of invalids from all parts of the world who like himself are here seeking health. After imbibing this mineral tipple, which, by the way, is very like soda-water, the elected of the French nation takes his bath about half-past nine, accompanied by Gen. Fleury and M. Mocquard in his walk to and from this establishment. He dedicates only two or three hours to work after breakfast, when the water-drinking commences again; and, finally, after a walk or drive, the day is closed at an early hour. The Emperor will remain twenty one days at Vichy, living in as much retirement as possible."

——ENGLAND'S FUTURE QUEEN.—We (*Western Times*) have been favored with a letter from our learned townsman, Sir John Bowring, who is at present in Germany. Sir John, writing from Homburg, says: "I have had an opportunity of hearing a good deal of 'the future Queen of England,' and all that I hear is favorable. She is amiable, graceful, pretty, accomplished, and a favorite of those who know her. The young Prince saw her first stealthily, his presence not being announced to her. The Prince afterwards met her at the Duchess of Cambridge's villa, near Frankfort, and the impression made was deep, and, it is to be hoped, will be lasting. There is some disappointment at the Protestant courts of Germany, as it was expected a Teutonic alliance might have thrown the influence of England into the scale of the Diet on the vexed question between the Danes and the Holstein and Schleswig Duchies; but (the royal marriages in these modern days have less influence than of old on political relations) it is better that English sympathies should strengthen Denmark, whose tendencies are liberal and enlightened, and want the support of friendly opinions, than that they should add weight to Prussia in her hesitating and vacillating policy."

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